Daily Report

East Europe

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Deputy Minister Briefs Envoys on Embargo Measures

AU1605161595 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova held a meeting today with ambassadors of the EU member states and U.S., Russian, and Hungarian ambassadors. Representatives of the SAM [Sanctions Assistance Mission] and Customs Director General Petrela also participated in the meeting.

Mr. Starova briefed them on the Albanian Government's position on the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, stressing that the Government of Albania has been and continues to be deeply engaged in precisely respecting its international obligations, as well as in making its contribution so that a desirable and peaceful solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia can be found. Apart from the grave economic burden, observing the sanctions is a very significant indication of its commitment and contribution in this direction. Since the time sanctions were imposed, the Albanian Government has taken action in both preparing and approving the necessary legal cadre to apply the sanctions in practice—through identifying and charging the special Albanian structures with direct responsibility, as well as through closely and incessantly cooperating with the SAM, whose activity in Albania in cooperation with Albanian partners has been always on the rise, Starova said.

Ambassadors of the aforementioned countries present at the meeting were also briefed on the measures taken recently taken by the Albanian Government to observe the embargo.

Interior Minister on Fight Against Crime

AU1605161095 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 May 95

[Report by Gezim Qinami]

[FBIS Translated Text] Interior Minister Agron Musaraj gave a news conference this morning. Speaking about the fight against crime, Musaraj stressed the work of the police to ensure the public tranquility and defend public order and human rights and freedoms. Musaraj said that 2,280 criminal acts were noted during the period between January and April this year, or 500 fewer than the same period last year. He added, however, that there has been an increase in drug smuggling cases, to a total of 11, and in people being held hostage—to seven—as well as 11 cases of weapons trafficking. The Police detection force has increased 30 percent in general, and it had fallen 6 percent regarding private property damages.

As for the clandestine trafficking of people, Minister Musaraj said that special services have been set up and the controls over the sailing regime and coasts have been strengthened to discover the existence of trafficking bases, the places where the clandestine people are sheltered, and the persons organizing the dispatch of clandestine people and their transport. The indications of this continuous work are promising. About 650 Chinese, Pakistanis, and Kurds have been returned to their countries of origin; 40 of them are being detained by rhe police; 39 motorboats have been blocked, etc.

Talking about the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, Musaraj said the government has made important decisions about this problem and that the ministry is implementing them according to a detailed plan. Dozens of tonnes of fuel and tanker trucks have been seized and many persons involved in this trafficking have been arrested. The police will continue to take further measures according to the law to prevent illegal fuel trafficking.

Mr. Musaraj stressed, however, that the police authorities are paying special attention to preventive actions regarding the crime of killing to settle blood feuds. During this four-month period, the number of such crimes has been reduced, particularly in certain areas, such as Kurbin, Lekebibaj, etc. Nevertheless, more work should be done in this direction.

Answering reporters' questions on the government measures to prevent clandestine trafficking, Musaraj said that as regards clandestine trafficking, we have signed joint agreements between the Albanian and Italian police and Interpol. We are cooperating with the Greek and Italian police on this problem. We have taken complete measures so as to have the Italian Army not be involved in this direction. Anyway, it is the right of the Italian Government to take its own measures.

As regards questions related to the embargo, Musaraj clarified that the amount of fuel that is now moving toward the north is in normal conditions. The police have detained about 50 people—among them 10 Montenegrins. The smuggling over the Buna River and Shkoder Lake has been stopped and the situation is under control.

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Klaus on Slovak Payments Accord, Trade Balance

LD1605194795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1615 GMT 16 May 95

["Regular Tuesday" interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by correspondent Lucie Weissova; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Weissova] Prime Minister, you sent a letter to Vladimir Meciar last week proposing to end the payments agreement with Slovakia on 1 September. The reaction of the Slovak prime minister may have been surprising for the Czech public. He referred to this letter as being an ultimatum and refused to discuss its contents. In this connection, I have remembered the well-known Latin sentence from my grammar school studies from Cicero's speech against Catilina: *Quo usque tandem, Catilina, abuteris patientia nostra* [How long, Catilina, will you abuse our patience!] Do you feel, in this connection, that you want to use a paraphrase of this sentence?

[Klaus] Let us not hurry anything in the world, not even this. Let us not react rashly to every word that is heard on the air. I assume that my well-argued and calm letter will give rise to a well-argued and calm reply from the Slovak side, and then we will have further consultations as to what to do next. So it is really not necessary to react to every statement delivered in a chance context. I do not consider this wise.

[Weissova] You must, after all, consider what you are going to do if the Slovak side does not react at all or rejects this agreement. Is it possible to adhere to the deadline stipulated in the proposal if the agreement were to be abrogated—that is, if the agreement were to end on 1 September?

[Klaus] Naturally, we are thinking about what to do next. But I am saying repeatedly to everyone that, when you are playing chess and make a move, you are expecting a countermove by the other side, but you do not announce to the other side your next five moves. I think there is no use to demand this from us.

[Weissova] Another sphere of problems I woudl like to ask about today is the passive balance of our trade. We are recording this interview before noon; the economic minister will discuss it in the afternoon. In your view, the problem is not so threatening. Despite this, the government should perhaps support the name of our products abroad. Does it possess any instruments to do so?

[Klaus] The government supports the name of our products abroad all the time by all sorts of means, ranging from its trips abroad to various other methods of promoting our products. But let us not confuse cause and effect, let us not confuse true arguments and true causes that lead to success or failure of our exports with arguments that are false. It is not the task of the government to export. Some who are used to central socialist planning keep thinking that. The task of producers and enterprises is to export, and the government provides the overall general climate for that. The government provided it a long time ago, and all producers know that they will never have such an advantageous exchange rate and such an advantageous proportion of wages and productivity of labor. All the rest are negligible trifles almost not worth mentioning.

There are dreams about returning to a paternalist economy where the state works for enterprises. Now, there is another such phase under way under a false heading of proexport policy. It is the same nonsense as industrial policy, as central planning. I am sorry that some politicians join in with these voices just for the sake of being liked.

Something else would be dangerous in our country; that is, if we had a negative trade balance, or if we were to import more than we export and if this were at the expense of our foreign currency reserves, if we exhausted the foreign currency reserves down to zero and knew that sometime it had to end. But none of this is true. We have a positive balance in our services trade, we have a highly positive balance in our tourist travel trade, we have a highly positive balance in the capital movements, so that, as a whole, the Czech Republic is a country with a rapidly growing supply of hard currencies, the so-called foreign currency reserves. Everything is growing so fast that we have problems of a completely opposite nature. So, the entire game of the trade balance is truly a somewhat premature election campaign.

On the other hand, there is no arguing that we would wish that exports might grow faster than imports, or at least at the same rate as imports. But that is not a question for export politicians; that is the question of whether we buy imported or home produce for supper tonight, whether we buy a Czech car or an imported car, whether we have a jacket from Prostejov or an imported jacket. And so on. That is what it all depends on. But it does not depend on our doing a better proexport policy. [passage omitted]

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KDS Splits, Releases Officer, Links Up With KAN

AU1705102795 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 15 May 95 p 3

[Article by "bp": "KDS Deputy Chairman Pavel Tollner Is Glad To Be Released"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Cheb—The release of Pavel Tollner as deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Party [KDS] and the signing of the partnership agreement between the KDS and the Club of Nonaligned Activists [KAN]—these were the main results of Saturday's session of the KDS Republic Representative Committee in Cheb.

The KDS's top body dealt with the initiative of the five parliament deputies who defected from the official KDS Deputies' Club. The resolution adopted (25 of those present voted in favor, five voted against, and two abstained) reads: "These deputies did so unexpectedly and without any attempt to notify any of the properly appointed party officials. It is apparent that, in itself and by its timing, this step damaged KDS policy and talks with other political parties close to us. Nevertheless, this decision by several deputies will not at all affect the KDS's general political stands or its position on the issue of integration with other parties."

"I am flattered by the punishment for not wanting to join the Civic Democratic Party," Tollner told reporters. According to him, he had been excommunicated from the KDS with bolshevist consistence. "The expulsion from the KDS leadership was a matter of a bloody non-Christian vendetta rather than politics. Namely, seven new members from KAN were co-opted onto the KDS Representative Committee even before the debate on the existence of two deputies' clubs, and these members then voted in cold blood to decide on the prospects of the KDS I club [of the five KDS deputies who defected] and our own fates," Tollner said.

The committee found that the only legitimate representation of the KDS in parliament is the current KDS Deputies' Club. While 18 delegates voted in favor of releasing Tollner, seven were against, and five abstained. The committee also asked him to resign from the post of deputy chairman of the Chamber of Deputies. If this does not happen, the party leadership will initiate appropriate coalition talks. Deputy Jan Litomisky was elected new KDS deputy chairman.

The signing of the partnership agreement between the KDS and KAN concludes the process of gradual coalescence between the two groupings that began in October 1993. The agreement was approved by the April KAN congress (92 of the 113 delegates voted in favor). According to KAN Chairman Emil Dejmek, complete integration will not occur for at least six months. KAN will be represented by seven members in the all-state KDS executive, and its representatives will have regular voting rights on all political issues. The KDS will be sufficiently represented in KAN.

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Minister, U.S. Attache Discuss 'Partnership'

LD1605200095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Bratislava today, Slovak Defense Minister Jan Sitek received James Spears, U.S. military and Air Force attache to the Slovak Republic, who informed him about the money released by the U.S. Government to fund the Partnership for Peace projects. These funds are provided in line with the decision of the U.S. Government to improve bilateral cooperation between the Armies of the two countries.

The Slovak Republic has dedicated 1 percent of its national income to implementing the Partnership for Peace program in 1995, which represents approximately $4.4 million.

Comment: U.S. Applying 'Carrot-and-Stick' Policy

AU1705120495 Bratislava SME in Slovak 16 May 95 p 4

[Commentary by Ondrej Dostal: "American Sugar and Stick for Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last week the United States addressed two important messages to Slovakia, both of which shared the same motive—fear for the preservation of a democratic development in Slovakia. The two messages differed only in form. With a bit of simplification, we could speak about signs of a U.S. carrot-and-stick policy toward Slovakia.

The sweet carrot, or at least its vision, was dangled by U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke in the form of the assurance that, at the moment, Slovakia's prospects of integration into Western security structures are similar to those of any of its neighbors. After all the scandals and not exactly democratic steps taken by the Slovak governing coalition, this is a surprisingly comforting statement. However, the assurance was immediately followed by one big BUT. The U.S. representative warned us emphatically that the conditions for admission into NATO are consistent respect for all democratic principles on the domestic scene and the settlement of Slovakia's relations with its neighboring countries, particularly Hungary. If the United States did not have doubts about the future development of democracy in Slovakia, it probably would not emphasize the first condition so strongly. And the second condition is, in fact, the very same problem on a somewhat different plane because it implicitly comprises also resolution of relations with the Hungarian minority.

A subtle wielding of the U.S. stick was the statement by the U.S. Embassy to the Slovak Republic that challenged the parallels some government officials recently tried to draw between the current situation of Michal Kovac and the position of U.S. President Richard Nixon in the Watergate affair. The statement surely was motivated not only by the Americans' sensitivity regarding their former president, but also by the feeling that the situation is serious, to say the least. When the U.S. Embassy emphasizes the fact that representatives of the congressional minority, too, participated in investigating the Watergate affair and that the hearings were accessible to the public and that the principles of law and requirements of the U.S. Constitution were strictly abided by, it apparently wants to suggest that the investigation of President Michal Kovac's "affair" does not meet such criteria. In this way, the statement is sending a clear signal that the Western world will not silently watch the dismantling of democracy in Slovakia. And it needs to be borne in mind that the noncommittal motion of no-confidence in the president can hardly bear comparison, for example, with the expulsion of deputies from parliament. In that case, we would probably come in for a reaction even without prompting it by clumsy references to "similar examples" from the democratic world.

Relations Established With Ethiopia, Mozambique

AU1705104595 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 May 95 p 1

[TASR report: "Diplomatic Relations With Ethiopia and Mozambique"]

[FBIS Translated Text] New York—The Slovak Republic established diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level with Ethiopia and the Republic of Mozambique. Both protocols, signed in New York by the representatives of the missions of these states to the UN, emphasize the wish to develop mutual relations and cooperation.

Meciar: President Causing Conflicts, Should Resign

LD1605231595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2200 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In the Press Club broadcast tonight, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar concentrated on the situation following the vote of no confidence in Slovak President Michal Kovac passed on 5 May by the Slovak National Council.

The prime minister said this was a conflict not between the government and the president but between the president and the parliament. According to Meciar, President Kovac interfered in the work of parliament even before its first session.

Vladimir Meciar went on to say that Michal Kovac was driving society into conflicts. According to Meciar, this

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problem has to be solved in a civilized way because, as he emphasized, today the opposition might be in the square [the SNP square, where a rally in support of the president took place today], but in 24 hours we could be in all of the squares of Slovakia.

Meciar considers the resignation of the president to be the most civilized solution to the matter.

In the Press Club, Vladimir Meciar also denied opinion polls that suggested that more people had confidence in the president than in the government. He added that he had received the results of two opinion polls, according to which 9 percent of the citizens have confidence in President Kovac, while 26 percent and 34 percent have confidence in Prime Minister Meciar.

Hints at No-Confidence Vote

LD1705081995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0500 GMT 17 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In the Press Club [regular Tuesday TV discussion of politicians] on Slovak television yesterday, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar hinted at the possibility of calling a referendum on confidence in President Michal Kovac. He said that Slovakia did not need new elections and that the situation would not be changed by the president staying and parliament departing.

In connection with yesterday's rally in Bratislava organized by the Christian Democratic Movement and the Democratic Union, where approximately 25,000 people voiced their support for the president, Prime Minister Meciar said that, although the opposition might be in the squares now, it is we who might be in all of the squares of Slovakia within 24 hours.

Meciar also emphasized that the president was able to analyze what was going on, and, regardless of the truth, he was able to prove that what he wanted is peace.

Meciar thinks that the most civilized way of resolving the present situation would be if the president were to resign. [passage omitted]

Kovac Responds to Report on Secret Service

AU1705060295 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 12 May 95 p 2

["Full text" of President Michal Kovac's address to the National Council of the Slovak Republic in Bratislava on 11 May: "The Special Supervisory Body's Report Is Built on Sand"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman, esteemed members of parliament!

When discussing the report of the Special Supervisory Body [OKO] on the activity of the Slovak Information Service [SIS] on 5 May 1995, the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] did not give me an opportunity to thoroughly study the submitted report, to prepare my standpoint on it, and to deliver it prior to the passage of the NRSR resolution. The generally accepted principle *audiatur et altera pars* [Latin phrase used]—that is, "let us hear also the other side"—has thus been violated. This was a case of the ill-famous "about us, without us."

Still on that day I asked the NRSR chairman [Gasparovic] to send me the report and the resolution adopted by parliament. I asked him to send me a transcript as soon as it was finished. I have to say that I have not received any of the documents in the six days since I asked for them. Therefore, I am responding to the OKO report according to the transcripts published in the daily press. If the report and the published transcripts differ and if some partial information contained in my speech is inaccurate on account of this, it is because the NRSR chairman did not fulfill his duty.

It is not the aim of my address to achieve the cancellation of the resolution that you passed. I only emphasize once again that this resolution does not have backing in any provision of the valid Constitution of the Slovak Republic. It is in stark contradiction with Article 2, Section 2 of the Constitution, under which "state bodies can act only on the basis of the Constitution, within its boundaries, and using methods set by the law." Therefore, the resolution does not have any constitutional and legal consequences for me.

However, I am making use of the president's right under Article 102, letter O of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and under Article 19 of your Rules of Procedure to deliver my standpoint on this matter.

Since I have no secrets before the citizens of the Slovak Republic, I did not ask for this meeting to be closed to the public. The citizens have the right to know what their president is, and is not, doing and how he intends to proceed. Apart from the concealment of specific names, there will be nothing in my address that I would consider subject to a state secret.

On the other hand, I understand why the report prepared by the OKO that was presented to parliament on 5 May 1995 and the debate about it were closed to the public even after code names were substituted for real names. Those who presented the report and those who instigated the subsequent resolution needed to obscure from the citizens the fact that the report contained no specific and legally relevant evidence that the alleged illegal procedures had been carried out with the knowledge

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of the president of the republic or that the president had really been informed about the allegedly illegally obtained information. Despite the fact that the OKO, according to its own data, was working intensively from 5 November 1994 to 3 May, or, actually, 5 May 1995, that is, for half a year, it has not succeeded in fulfilling its intention—to prove the president of the republic guilty of unlawful conduct. The meeting was held behind closed doors because the citizens simply should not have learned that the OKO's entire construction is built on sand.

Esteemed members of parliament, note on which basis the report's conclusions were drawn. For example, the SIS member with the code name Lovec [Hunter] bases his accusations directed against the president on instructions that he allegedly received from his control officer. Yet the report mentions neither any testimony of this control officer nor any orders that the control officer was supposed to receive, for example, from one of the section directors or from the SIS director himself. And, of course, there is no mention of my instructions for the SIS director. Let us count how many people there are in the chain between Lovec and myself. Lovec's testimony on the activity of the control officer is so-called secondhand knowledge. His testimony about the activity of the Intelligence or Counterintelligence director is thirdhand knowledge, about the activity of the SIS director fourthhand knowledge, and about the president of the republic fifthhand knowledge.

Similarly, the SIS members with the code names Liska [Fox] and Vlk [Wolf] know only from Orol [Eagle] that the information obtained by them was destined directly for the president, but Orol and his superior, the then SIS director, themselves do not confirm this. It is therefore fourthhand knowledge. No other evidence exists.

In civilized states, secondhand knowledge, let alone fourth or fifthhand knowledge, is either absolutely inadmissible or considered legally irrelevant. Unfortunately, it was enough for the NRSR to pass a resolution [expressing loss of confidence in the president].

I am asking those of you who raised their hands in support of the resolution: If you find such "evidence" sufficient to declare guilty the first citizen of the state, what is your respect for the law and what kind of legal security is enjoyed by the rank-and-file citizen?

When some deputies demanded that written records of the interrogations or other pieces of evidence be submitted, the submitter of the OKO report claimed that the law does not place him under any obligation to supply evidence to the NRSR. According to this, parliament can decide on the responsibility of the head of state in the absence of any proof. This is deplorable damage to the good name of Slovak democracy and a black stain on the activity of our parliament.

Let us have a look at other facts. From the last information given to me—in line with the law—by Vladimir Mitro, the then SIS director, I know that [then OKO Chairman] Mr. Lexa summoned SIS members for their first interrogations to the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] headquarters at Tomasikova Street. This happened, for instance, on 23 March 1995. I have a report on this event; the report is available. Members of parliament, does it remind you of the interrogations of the so-called conspiracy center that were carried out at the headquarters of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the fifties? Has it occurred to you that, if you do not want to know the truth about this commission today, you may become its victim one day?

Particularly grievous is the fact that the interrogations took place in contravention of Article 23, Section 2 of Law No. 46 of 1993. Under this provision, SIS members can be exempted from their oath of secrecy only by the SIS director and only on the basis of a request from criminal prosecution bodies. I know, however, that not one SIS member was exempted from the oath of secrecy until 4 April, that is, until the dismissal of Vladimir Mitro from the post of SIS director. The interrogations held prior to this date, and there were not few of them, were in sharp contradiction with the law and, therefore, lack the legal force as evidence. This is a universally valid legal principle, as expressly stated in Article 89, Section 2 of the Penal Code.

The authors of the report are aware of these serious contradictions. Therefore, they are trying to justify interrogations carried out in breach of Article 23, Section 2 of the Law on SIS by means of reference to Article 2, Section 5 of the same law. This justification is unacceptable, however, because Article 5, Section 2 gives authorization to SIS as an institution on behalf of which act its statutory bodies, and not individual members, and the NRSR, or its constituent part, is not "another state body" in the sense of the above provision because the method of supplying information to the NRSR is expressly stated in the preceding section [sentence as published].

The intentions of the report under consideration are also made clear by another fact. During the 23 March 1995 interrogations, the then OKO chairman asked the SIS officer who was being questioned about my activities in the London branch of the Zivnobanka bank in the 1967-69 period. The questioning about these facts was totally beyond the OKO's powers. Under Article 5 of Law No. 46 of 1993, the OKO is to supervise the activity of SIS. SIS did not exist in 1967-69. Therefore, the

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OKO and its chairman were not authorized to ascertain circumstances that did not, and could not, result from SIS activities. In this way, the then OKO chairman seriously violated the provisions of Article 5 of the Law on SIS. Moreover, he was acting in breach of Article 19, Section 3 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic because he was collecting information about myself without authorization.

The OKO passed its report on to the prosecutor general. It will be necessary, however, for the General Prosecutor's Office first to investigate the aforementioned law violations by some OKO members, particularly violations of Article 5 and Article 23, Section 2 of Law No. 46 of 1993. At the same time I know that, during their interrogation, several SIS members were drawing attention to the violation of the above provisions. Nevertheless, the interrogations continued under pressure exerted by means of the claim that parliament's work was being hindered and thwarted. I avail myself of material furnishing evidence of this. It is up to the criminal prosecution bodies how they will qualify such an execution of the powers of a public official contradicting existing legislation (Article 19, Section 3 of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and Articles 5 and 23, Sections 1 and 2 of Law No. 46 of 1993 on SIS) and such overstepping of the powers of a public official.

Esteemed National Council!

The fact that the case of the Slovak president's son was unnaturally incorporated into the OKO report confirms that the report is merely following certain aims. I can assure you that I have never taken any steps anywhere to thwart the investigations. On the contrary, I am interested in having the case investigated speedily and thoroughly. I am convinced that my son has not committed any crime.

Members of parliament!

You have heard my standpoint, including many facts that are supported by evidence that is available to you. None of the allegations made in the report about myself has been proved. I assure you and all the citizens of Slovakia that I did not know about SIS breaching the law and that I do not trust any of these unproven allegations about this breach of law. I have been carrying out my office in line with the Constitution, and I will continue to do so while respecting both the law and the rules of human decency to the full. I urge you to do the same. I remind you that truth, law, and justice always mean more than blind party obedience.

Esteemed NRSR!

It is impossible for me not to touch in my address upon some political connections and circumstances that are linked to the OKO report. I do not have the slightest doubt that the report is only one of the stones of the present rich mosaic of various attacks against me as the president of the Slovak Republic. These have been waged against me for the last two years with varying degrees of intensity and have been stepped up after the NRSR plenary meeting in March of last year and still further after the early parliamentary elections. This campaign against me is in progress despite the well-known reconciliation gesture [by Prime Minister Meciar during the inauguration of his government in December 1994].

The substance of the dispute—and I would like to emphasize this strongly—are not personal relations between me and Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. It is true that they play a certain role, but it is certainly only a secondary one to that of differences of views about the character and style of politics suitable for a parliamentary democracy and for a free open society in general. This question plays an important role in Slovak political life, not only because we are a young democracy but also because we are a young independent state. For both reasons, it is extremely important what political style we adopt, to what extent and whether the generally recognized rules of democracy are applied at all in our country, and whether we develop the culture of the rule of law in our state based on respect for the Constitution and for the entire legal system. It is also important whether we are capable of basing our policy on a wide-ranging social consensus and agreement on the most fundamental issues of our social and state life.

These thoughts are not academic ones. These are very real and, at present, increasingly pressing questions linked to the almost perennial problems of our political life. I was and continue to be deeply convinced that the government's raison d'etre should not be its everyday struggle for bare survival. Such a government is incapable of efficient functioning and of governing the state. I would like to assure you once again that it was only because I was worried about our country, our state that I repeatedly asked the prime minister to form a government with a sufficiently wide-ranging and reliable majority in the parliament. The prime minister's response to my proposals—above all, those I put forward in my New Year's address last year—was his growing aversion and even open animosity toward my person, which also spread to some officials of the HZDS and its coalition partner, the Slovak National Party.

Confrontational attitudes came to a head after the March [1994] session of the NRSR, during which I attempted, among other things, to clarify the causes of the tension between the prime minister and myself. However, from this platform I must once again refute

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categorically all accusations of having instigated some sort of a parliamentary putsch! Not only are such statements groundless, with no link to reality, but they also testify to ignorance and even more likely to the intentional disregard for the elementary political rules of parliamentary democracy. March 1994 meant no more and no less than that the parliamentary majority legally and legitimately passed a vote of no confidence in the prime minister. This shift of political power between the government and the then opposition was caused, first and foremost, by the internal crisis and subsequent differentiation within the then coalition. Yes, such is the truth about the change of government in March 1994. I am convinced that no commission of inquiry will change this, not even if it ventures into the haze of all kinds of conjectures and confabulations.

Esteemed members of parliament, I do not have to remind you of the wave of hostile attacks on the president that followed the change of government in March 1994. These attacks fit the aforementioned mosaic of the purposeful and uncivilized antipresidential campaign. The blind fanaticism of this campaign is stunning, as it ignores two other serious political aspects in addition to the real reasons for the change of government that I have already mentioned. First, Slovakia had a chance to gain short- lived—yet for our political system, useful—experience in building a wide coalition that had previously appeared to be unrealistic. Second, the change in government opened the way toward an agreement to call early parliamentary elections.

The citizens themselves decided who would represent them in the supreme representative body of the country. I realize that some deputies will not agree with my view, but I have to emphasize that the elections were, above all, about the composition of a new parliament. The vote cast in them was not about a new government. This is best proved by the results of the elections and the rather lengthy talks about the composition of a new cabinet. The results of the elections merely confirmed my deep conviction, which I arrived at as early as in the first year of our independent state existence, that Slovakia wants and needs a coalition government backed by a reliable parliamentary majority.

Following certain ups and downs of the coalition talks, such a government was formed in December last year. Not only did I appoint it, but I also welcomed it, trusting that it would fully concentrate on tackling pressing problems and tasks facing our society undergoing transformation. I kept hoping for this for a long time, despite the doubts and alarm I felt following the infamous November night in parliament.

I do not want to speak about the attitude adopted in the last few months by the government and the parliamentary majority toward the president and his office, even though this is a unique attitude among civilized democratic countries unmatched anywhere in the world. What I find far more alarming is the way the current government and its parliamentary majority exercise power in the sphere of state administration and public life.

Esteemed members of parliament!

At this time of great significance for the future of our country and our state, for the future of all its citizens, I would like to make an appeal, possibly a plea as well: Let us come to our senses before it is too late. Let us put an end to constant attacks and confrontations. Let us look for a way toward real understanding. Let us strive to create a peaceful and stable working atmosphere that will have a beneficial effect on our entire society.

Truth and decency must prevail over lies, dishonesty, and arrogance.

I would like to assure you and all the citizens of Slovakia that, as far as I am concerned, nobody and nothing will break me. I will firmly stand on the side of truth, justice, and law. I will defend the right of every citizen to a decent life in truth and freedom.

Coexistence Elects Officers, Opposes Language Bill

AU1705110695 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 May 95 p 2

[TASR report: "The Dilapidated State of Democracy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sirkovce—The All-State Council, the supreme body of the Egyutteles [Coexistence] political movement, convened on 13 May for the first time since the 5th Congress in Sirkovce, Rimavska Sobota district. At this closed meeting, it assessed the congress and the specific tasks stemming from its resolution. The All-State Council observed that neither at home nor abroad was it unequivocally understood that, if the movement's program is not fulfilled, measures must be initiated to create territorial autonomy. The session elected Istvan Harna, Erzsebet Dolnikova, and Istvan Batta Egyutteles deputy chairmen and confirmed Jozsef Kvarda in this post. The Egyutteles All-State Council considers the present political situation alarming. The adopted resolution states, among other things, that the state of democracy is worsening, and so is the situation of the non-Slovak community in Slovakia. Justified concerns arise, according to the resolution, from the planned bill on state language, the adoption of which in the proposed form would mean direct interference in the life and rights of the community.

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Article Views Language Law as 'Revenge'

AU1705104695 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 May 95 pp 1, 5

[Article by Martin Krno: "Satisfaction, or Rather Revenge?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The draft principles for the law on the state language, which was drafted by the Culture Ministry, have gone through the comments procedure in the individual departments. Its authors are in a hurry. According to their plan, it will come into effect on 1 September "in order to prevent further damage in this sphere." Therefore, they have already prepared the draft law in an article-by-article version, which, obviously, the government will consider in the very near future.

The so-called language law of October 1990, which was promoted at that time by the first Meciar government and by the prime minister himself in a memorable and fierce televised duel with J. Markus, undoubtedly requires changes, if for no other reason than that its wording has to be harmonized with the Slovak Constitution and the new state's other legal norms. However, it can already be surmised from the very philosophy of the law that, in parliament and society, the mountains will heave and bring forth a mouse, which, admittedly, will bare its little teeth, but life will go on. [passage omitted]

The establishment of a Central Linguistic Inspectorate within the Culture Ministry and of linguistic inspectors in the territorial administrative units is proposed in the material. A fine of 10,000-100,000 korunas could be imposed for not adhering to the stipulations of this law. Of this sum, 50 percent will go to the Pro Slovakia state culture fund, which is, by the way, really quite original! So, owners of stores and other facilities with signboards in foreign languages and importers, too, take heart. You will contribute to cultural development if you do not translate all of your signs, instructions, and other texts into Slovak. They may admittedly also be in foreign languages in the interest of tourism, but only after they are rendered in the state language. So, in the fall, we will obviously see illuminated signs with KOKA-KOLA and HORUCI PAREK (Hot Dog) on them.

Religious services will also be conducted in the state language in the Slovak Republic. "The pertinent partial use of other languages is considered to be an addition arising from tradition." Adherence by the staff of television and radio stations to the valid codification of the literary language will, obviously, also be dealt with by sanctions and, therefore, will not "only" be a matter of professional pride and critical appraisal for their employers. Other languages may be used in regional or local electronic media after the given program is broadcast in Slovak. The background materials for any public gatherings and cultural and educational events will have to be drafted in the state language by the organizers.

Beware of the Nation's Enemies!

The real stances and objectives of the authors of this project are particularly obvious from the explanations for the individual articles and from the subsequent appendixes to the draft law's principles, which are also teeming with claims that, for example, "in the anti-Slovak-oriented press, the characteristic features of the Slovak language [illegible] marred deliberately or from carelessness in the n[illegible]of freedom of creative activity" (an image of the nation's ill-wishers, who spend the night wracking their brains on how most to corrupt their native language, is already forming in front of us), or they talk about Hungarian irredentism and the aggressive activity of Hungarian cultural associations and schools in the linguistically mixed regions, which have caused the "decline of the prestige of the Slovak language." [passage omitted]

I consider most unfortunate the attempt to foist Slovak on the ethnic minorities under the tag that this is a "cultural and intellectual asset for all of Slovakia's citizens" or the statement: "People belonging to the ethnic minorities demonstrate their loyalty to the state by their willingness to exercise their right to master the state language." Reference is also made in the explanation to the "spirit, unloyal to Slovak statehood" that "also prevails in the Hungarian press published in Slovakia" and to the fact that the option for bilingual education "will contribute to intensifying mutual understanding." This is even though we know very well that, 11 years ago, the idea of alternative education provoked outrage among Slovak Hungarians to such an extent that the then undemocratic government preferred to abandon this project.

The explanation is backed up by references to the most recent legal amendments of several European states. At the same time, it does not acknowledge that the consequences of the language laws for the Russian-speaking population in the Baltic countries provoked bitter criticism from official international institutions. In the case of France, the issue involved protecting its culture from Americanization, but, in our country, it concerns the position of the ethnic minorities who have been living on Slovak territory for centuries and who are, for understandable reasons, very sensitive about the issue of a native language. The mechanical transfer of experiences from the United States is hard

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to take seriously if, moreover, the authors use one congressman's unapproved draft law as the basis for their argument.

A special supplement provides a historical review of the Magyarization laws approved by the pre-1918 Hungarian Assembly from the 18th to the 20th centuries. At the end of the document, there is reference to the necessity of "linguistic satisfaction for the forced Magyarization." The stipulation "that every Slovak citizen who was forced to use Hungarian orthography for an obviously Slovak surname—or whose forebears were forced to do that—has the right to ask for the free alteration of his name in accordance with the characteristic features of the Slovak language" is considered to be the minimum. The proposers have chosen a milder form in the article-by-article version of the draft law. There can be no objections to this, but it is apparent from many of the passages in the original text that its authors are not so much interested in satisfaction as in revenge. Europe's experiences with this are not good. The purity of a language cannot be ordained by injunctions, prohibitions, or fines. For this, it is necessary to draft a more profound concept of a longer-term nonbullying nature.

Cuts in Subsidies for Minorities To Be Reassessed

AU1605204895 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 May 95 p 4

[Article by "or": "Slovaks Living Abroad Might Obtain Status of Compatriot"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The Government Council for Ethnic Minorities held its second meeting yesterday. It dealt with, among other things, a report on establishing the Status of Compatriot [Statut Krajana] for Slovaks living abroad. These compatriots are currently regarded as foreign nationals, even if they declare themselves of Slovak origin. The draft principles of a law on foreign Slovaks are to be prepared by 1 October, part of which will be the Status of a Foreign Slovak (Compatriot) specifying the rights and duties of compatriots while staying on the territory of the Slovak Republic. The status of a foreign Slovak could be awarded by means of a compatriot's card. The ethnic principle is to be applied in defining categories of foreign Slovaks.

The Council accepted the demand of Romany initiatives to establish the post of Slovak Government Commissioner for Romany Issues. The bulk of the meeting was taken up by a debate on the distribution of financial resources among cultural organizations of individual ethnic minorities. Originally, they received from the state budget 58 million korunas, which is less than last year. All of them, with the exception of the Bulgarian Cultural Union, have expressed their dissatisfaction with the allocated sums. It has therefore been determined that individual organizations can now again address their requirements to the Ministry of Culture. A commission will once again assess all requirements.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 12 May on page 2 carries a 300-word report by "dos" on the meeting of the Council. According to the report, "one of the items on the agenda was the draft law of the National Council of the Slovak Republic on the state language of the Slovak Republic." Although "Culture Minister Ivan Hudec assured the representatives of ethnic minorities present that the planned law on the state language was not directed against minorities and that their comments on the draft would be submitted to the government for discussion," the SME report notes, "the Hungarian minority representative on the Council G. Bardos, deputy to the National Council of the Slovak Republic for the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, walked out of the meeting of the Council during the discussion of this item in protest against the nature of the submitted draft."]

Call for Probe of Dubcek's Fatal Car Crash

LD1605214395 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At their meeting in Bratislava today, representatives of the Slovak National Party [SNS] and the Social Democratic Party of Slovakia [SDSS] agreed on the necessity to establish a parliamentary commission that would investigate the car crash of the late SDSS Chairman Alexander Dubcek.

The SNS and the SDSS arrived at a joint conclusion that all political parties should contribute to reducing tension in Slovak society.

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Keleti, Perry Sign Defense Cooperation Agreements

LD1605214895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti and U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry have signed a memorandum, an agreement on the protection of secrets [titokvedelmi egyezmeny], and an accord on exchanging technical data in Washington. Miklos Martin Kovacs reports:

[Martin Kovacs] The United States continues to support the modernization of the Hungarian Armed Forces in which, according to the United States, civilian control has a very significant role—U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry stressed after the signing of the documents. With this step Hungary has become the United States' closest partner in military cooperation in central Europe, which also means the beginning of research and development programs, such as the renewal of air defense radars, he emphasized.

The memorandum on military cooperation and the agreement on the protection of secrets and on the exchange of technical data are fundamentally necessary for the soldiers themselves to take the steps needed for NATO expansion. It is the politicians who will make the final decision, but military assessment and planning are still needed before that.

The United States will also provide modest financial help for the modernization of the Hungarian Armed Forces, presumably also to encourage decisionmakers to chose the products of U.S. manufacturers, who are very active on the weapons market.

Speaking of the agreement, Gyorgy Keleti has confirmed what Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs stressed in Washington not long ago as a new direction of the Hungarian Government: that is, that Hungary has already become the United States' partner and wants to become its ally soon. The defense talks in Washington represent a further step toward that—because, as the U.S. defense secretary said, Gyorgy Keleti's views on the Balkan crisis and NATO expansion are important to them.

Every important political force in Hungary agrees with the aim to join; and Hungary, as a future NATO member, wants to be a stabilizing factor in the region, the Hungarian minister said, adding that developing relations with Romania and Slovakia were already promoting this intention.

Industry Minister Expects Double-Digit Growth

AU1705103795 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 15 May 95 p 5

[Interview with Industry and Trade Minister Laszlo Pal by Maria Lakatos; place and date not given: "We Expect Two-Digit Growth"]

[FBIS Translated Text] When he took office, Industry and Trade Minister Laszlo Pal promised a clear industrial policy based on the classic industrial sectors and greater intervention in the privatization process. Almost a year has passed since then. In an interview for NEPSZAVA, Pal first answered a question on what of all these goals has been achieved.

[Pal] Indeed, I opted for a clear industrial policy. This policy has several elements: adequate economic regulation and the creation of an economically oriented legal order is extremely important. Naturally, I continue to strive for all this today, but the road to that end leads through compromises. In this world, industrial policy principles must be functional, and this appears in the government policy. However, the state must intervene directly in three areas. Such a situation emerges when bankruptcy—even the bankruptcy of a single enterprise—affects an entire sector or region. Metallurgy, mining, or the aluminum industry belong here. Direct intervention and state aid were also justified in the case of the industrial enterprises referred to as the dirty twelve. Nine of these twelve enterprises are already standing on their own feet. In addition to these tasks, the state—including our ministry—must play a direct role in introducing new sectors.

The third area is the energy sector, where market competition can only be asserted under state limitations and guarantees.

[Lakatos] Only one truly new sector emerged in the past five years: automobile manufacturing. However, it has not yet reached true significance.

[Pal] I would not say that—because, although only 2,000 people are currently employed in the GM, Audi, Ford, and Suzuki plants, this sector already provides employment for some 30,000 people. Some 40 supply firms operate on the basis of this sector, so this sector can be developed. It also transpired in the past five years that supplying spare parts—rather than assembly—brings real profits.

[Lakatos] Electric power—more precisely: its price—is the last area where the minister has the right of direct influence in the economy, because you have the right to fix the price of electric power. A debate has been going on for weeks about a new increase

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in electric energy prices, while one repeatedly hears that electricity is expensive in Hungary because it is produced expensively.

[Pal] I do not agree with this conclusion in this way. However, it is true that the industry minister will determine the price of electric power until 1 January 1997. In the case of the Hungarian Power Plants Trust [MVM Rt], the current prices are so-called agreed prices that cover costs. The rate of amortization and the amount of profit are limited in these prices. Therefore, in my opinion, it is not true that prices got out of hand. A very tough bargaining continues. Nor is it a secret that the Office of Tax and Fiscal Auditing [APEH] carried out investigations in the energy sector last year. And the Energy Office constantly examines the expenses. So, there are opportunities to save, but fewer than people presume today.

[Lakatos] The privatization of the Hungarian energy sector has been going on for years and, in effect, it has not advanced much, although you expect most of this year's privatization income from this sector. It seems that the Industry Ministry does not have much say in all this.

[Pal] The privatization law clearly stipulates the role of every protagonist; and, naturally, we are also involved in working out this concept. However, it is also true that social consensus is needed for the selling of energy-producing firms, because the operation of these firms determines the foundations of our economy. We have good relations with [Privatization Minister] Tamas Suchman and we can cooperate; therefore, I do not see any problem in privatization; and, in my opinion, a considerable part of the planned income can still flow in.

[Lakatos] In the other area for which you are responsible—the mineral oil market—competition is a matter of life or death. Not only the recently established private firms but also the Hungarian Oil and Natural Gas Corporation [MOL], which has been in operation for decades, is trying to incorporate Mineralimpex, a firm that has also been operating for years, and the debate is getting increasingly out of hand.

[Pal] Indeed, the processes on the mineral oil market have become quite impenetrable as a "result" of past events. We issued a new regulation on the mineral oil market a few days ago, and I hope this will settle the market. We set tough conditions for obtaining oil trade licenses for both wholesalers and retailers. The existence of a local storage facility is the most important thing that automatically brings order to this market. According to our estimates, perhaps 10 traders might be able to fulfill this requirement, and it will be easy to supervise such a small number of traders. People will have to issue tenders in order to obtain licenses, and we will strictly control whether the conditions are observed. The debate between MOL and Mineralimpex broke out because of the supply of natural gas. As is known, Mineralimpex signed the private contract that stipulates the obligation to supply 6 billion cubic meters of natural gas in exchange for the work carried out in Hamburg. This issue should first be settled, and then we can return to organizational issues, namely whether Mineralimpex should be incorporated into MOL.

[Lakatos] One occasionally hears various rumors regarding you personally. Is your position in the government really uncertain?

[Pal] These rumors do not originate from me, and I think that anyone who accepts such a position will always face such rumors.

[Lakatos] Industrial production grew considerably in the past two years. If we look at the figures, the crisis is over, here.

[Pal] Industrial production increased by 9 percent in 1994, and both industrial growth and exports will show a two-digit increase this year. This includes the effect of multinational firms' operating in Hungary, firms that really took over the Hungarian market at first but later quickly grew up and began to export. According to our statistics, there are six multinational firms among the 10 biggest exporters, and there is also a firm that today exports goods worth $100 million and expects to increase this figure to $700 million next year. These firms have found their place in Hungary, and they are satisfied with the skill of the local labor force and, unfortunately, also with the price of the local labor. From the current figures, it seems that last year's foreign trade deficit of $3.9 billion can be reduced to $2.5 billion, and Hungarian supplies to the electronic and car industries are increasing strongly. However, we cannot expect miracles.

[Lakatos] Hungarian private entrepreneurs think now that one can really engage in successful trade in the East—namely, in Russia.

[Pal] According to current negotiations, our exports this year will exceed last year's figures by about $400 million, because the results of the former negotiations are already emerging; and the payments of Russian debts to Hungary also began last week, with civilian goods. The first transport of combines has already arrived.

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Parliament Rejects Referendum on Election Method

LD1605192895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] There will be no referendum on the question of a direct or indirect presidential election. A large majority of parliament rejected the referendum today.

Jozsef Torgyan, chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party, which collected more than 100,000 valid signatures toward having a referendum, announced that they would appeal to the Constitutional Court because they are of the view that the parliament's decision violates the law in force.

Earlier, the Constitutional Court ruled that the constitution cannot be amended via referendum. According to the Constitution, the president of the Republic is elected by the parliament.

Minorities Demand Access to Publicity

LD1605210995 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1900 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ethnic minorities in Hungary demand an independent radio frequency and want to set up the legal framework for their access to publicity.

A new situation emerged in Hungary after the minority local governmental elections in December. Jenoe Kaltenbach, chairman of the national self-government body of the German community, said in Pecs. [passage omitted]

Pero Lasztity, chairman of the Serb national self-government body, and Mihaly Hett, the Croats' chairman, also agreed that the Hungarian state should grant an independent radio frequency to the minorities of Hungary. In their view, this is the only way to assert the rights laid down in the minority law. The German community could even count on foreign resources. However, the other communities were not able to offer this.

Minority leaders are soon to meet Prime Minister Gyula Horn to present their demands.

Journalists Protest Planned TV Dismissals

LD1605185495 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In a statement, 33 of the journalists who were laid off by Hungarian Radio last year have protested against the planned dismissal of 1,000 staff members at Hungarian Television.

The signatories—among them Gyorgy Bolgar, Jozsef Barat, Tivadar Farkashazy, and Akos Mester—call upon the government to protect democracy by abandoning its plan to put pressure on Hungarian Television to lay off staff. The planned dismissals are legally unfounded, and the decision's constitutionality too can be questioned. Furthermore, this step can also lead to the violation of press freedom. Decisions on the public service media should be suspended until the bill on radio and television is approved, the statement stresses.

The Openness Club also protests the dismissal of the editor in chief of "Newsreel" [Janos Bethlen]. According to the executive body of the Openness Club, the fact that the television's chairman did not explain his decision shows that Janos Bethlen was relieved under political pressure. This dismissal indicates that as long as the public service media is not independent from the government of the time and no real competitors appear on the media market, new fronts will be opened in the media war—the statement reads.

The Openness Club is repeatedly urging the passage of the media law as soon as possible.

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B-H Federation Talks Convened in Mostar

AU1605164695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Talks between the delegations of the Bosniak and Croat peoples on the setting up of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation began in the headquarters of the EU Administration in Mostar this morning. The delegations are led by Kresimir Zubak, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and Vice President Ejup Ganic. The talks are also attended by the representatives of the United States, Germany, and Croatia. The meeting is chaired by Michael Stainer, German representative in the Contact Group. Christian Schwartz Schilling, German Government representative for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, U.S. Ambassador Charles Thomas [title as heard], and Robert Owen, U.S. arbiter for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, are also attending the talks.

On the first day of the work, as Michael Steiner proposed, the participants in the session are discussing the situation in the Federation and analyzing the results achieved so far on the implementation of the Bonn Agreement.

Overnight, they will try to produce a draft of a new agreement, which is then to be discussed on the second day of the meeting. This agreement should be the main result of the talks.

The meeting is being held behind closed doors. The results should be revealed on Thursday [18 May] morning, at a joint news conference.

Mayors of some 40 towns from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation will also be discussing the setting up of the Federation in Mostar tomorrow.

Mortar Destroys Office in Sarajevo UN Building

AU1605202195 Paris AFP in English 1934 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, May 16 (AFP)—Mortar fire destroyed an office in a UN building here Tuesday [16 May] during the heavy shelling of the city, a UN official said.

A room on the sixth floor of the UN special coordinator's office in central Sarajevo was destroyed by a mortar Tuesday afternoon, a spokeswoman for the office said.

A meeting of 60 officials and diplomats had been planned in the room but was cancelled because of the heavy shelling.

The building was hit by fragments from a mortar on Monday and hit again twice on Tuesday before the shell destroyed the sixth-floor room, the spokeswoman said.

Attack 'Deliberate'

AU1605111895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Three shells fired from the aggressor's positions around Sarajevo hit the offices of William Eagleton, UN special coordinator for Sarajevo, just before 1200 [1000 GMT] today.

The people in the office believe that this Chetnik attack was deliberate, B-H PRESS reports.

Ljubijankic, Iran Envoy Demand End to Blockade

AU1505185495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic received today Mohammed Ibrahim Taherian, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

They discussed the activities connected to the trilateral cooperation of the foreign ministers of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iran, and Greece, as well as the current peace initiatives. They stressed that the international community had to act more resolutely to stop the increasingly frequent provocations by the aggressor, and to put an end to the humanitarian blockade of Sarajevo and other protected zones.

The Hague Takes Over Karadzic War Crime Case

AU1605142695 Paris AFP in English 1409 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, May 16 (AFP)—The international tribunal on war crimes in the former Yugoslavia will take over investigations to determine if Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and two of his top aides should be tried as war criminals, a judge said Tuesday.

In a hearing devoted to Karadzic, military chief General Ratko Mladic and a former Bosnian Serb police chief, Mico Stanisic, Judge Adolphus Karibi-Whyte of Nigeria said the court had decided to officially apply to take over the case from a court in the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo.

The judge's statement explicitly referred to the precedents set by World War II war crimes tribunals, notably those of Nuremberg and Tokyo.

He said the court "formally requests the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina that the courts of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina defer to the

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competence of the International Tribunal in regard to their investigations and criminal proceedings involving Radovan Karadzic, Ratko Mladic and Mico Stanisic."

Karibi-Whyte said the International War Crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia was best-placed to punish the crimes attributed to Karadzic, Mladic and Stanisic by the Moslem-led Bosnian Government.

"The punishment for the crimes allegedly committed by the individuals is based on the general principles of international humanitarian law and derives in particular from the precedents laid down by Nuremberg and Tokyo," the judge said.

"It follows from the above principles that the official capacity of an individual, even de facto in a position of authority—whether as military commander, leader, or as one in government—does not exempt him from criminal responsibility and would tend to aggravate it," Karibi-Whyte said.

The judge said it was precisely that position of authority which "would have enabled the suspects to plan, instigate or order the crimes in respect of which the above-mentioned investigations have been conducted, or given them the means to prevent the said crimes to stop them or at least to punish their perpetrators".

Spokesman Christian Chartier said it was the first time the tribunal in The Hague had drawn a parallel with the courts set up after World War II to try Nazi and Japanese war criminals.

"From the legal point of view, this is a historic decision," he said.

Chartier said that in deciding to investigate Karadzic, Mladic and Stanisic, the tribunal had made sure it alone had the right to bring the three to trial if this became possible.

He said charges might be brought "before the end of the year."

The tribunal's prosecutor has been investigating for some months the extent of the three men's "personal penal responsibility" in the murder, rape and mass deportation of non-Serb civilians in Bosnia.

The destruction of cultural and historical buildings by Serb forces in Bosnia, the siege of Sarajevo and attacks on United Nations personnel and UN peacekeepers are also under scrutiny.

The court is trying to determine the role of Karadzic, Mladic, and Stanisic in crimes carried out by subordinates for which the court has already brought charges.

The charges concern up to now 22 Bosnian Serbs. Only one of these, Dusko Tadic, accused of killing at least 13 Moslems, is in custody. His trial is not expected to take place before September.

At a public hearing here on Monday, deputy prosecutor Graham Blewitt said the prosecutor wanted to take over the investigation from Sarajevo because it overlapped with other cases being handled by the court.

Bosnian authorities have undertaken to cooperate fully with the Hague Court and to relinquish their own rights in its favour.

It will be the second case the international tribunal has taken over from Sarajevo. Last week, it assumed responsibility for investigating war crimes allegedly committed by Bosnian Croats in the Lasva Valley in central Bosnia in 1992-93.

Sarajevo Civil Defense Measures To Ban Movement

AU1605185495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Sarajevo City Executive Council today held an expanded session at which it discussed the current security situation in the city. The session was attended by the heads of the Sarajevo City Assembly and the Centar Municipal Assembly, as well as representatives of the Sarajevo Defense Secretariat, the Security Center, and the Civil Defense Command.

The Executive Council demands from all subjects in the city, following the fierce general attacks by the aggressor on the city that started this morning, to activate the defense plans and make sure that they are consistently implemented .

The Executive Council also demands from the citizens strictly to observe the orders of the Sarajevo Civil Defense Command on the ban of movement by the civilian population and traffic. The ban does not apply to authorized persons. The Executive Council has made invalid all instructions issued so far on the conduct of classes in Sarajevo schools. This means that all work with pupils in primary and secondary schools is suspended until further notice. In other words, there are no classes.

The citizens of Sarajevo are asked to use shelters, cellars, and other facilities as much as possible. Before leaving their apartments, they must shut off natural gas, water, and electricity mains. The Executive Council is in permanent session and will issue new information and instructions to the citizens of Sarajevo via the media.

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Izetbegovic Views Attack, Diplomatic Moves

AU1605185295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 95

[Interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Mehmetalija Sisic, "especially for the Radio and Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina and B-H PRESS," in Sarajevo on 16 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sisic] Mr. President, since this morning, the citizens of Sarajevo have witnessed artillery attacks and shooting in and around Sarajevo, on the defense lines. What is in fact happening? Could you please explain it to our listeners and viewers.

[Izetbegovic] Yes. We are obviously talking about very intensive artillery and infantry attacks by the Chetniks on the city. This is obviously a well-prepared attack. The lines of defense in the south are subjected to the attacks, between Vrbanja Most, Debelo Brdo, toward Zlatiste, on the one side, and on the opposite northern side, between Spicasta Stijena via Grdonja toward Brekin Potok. This is a line of some four to five km long [words indistinct]. So, we are talking about their attack, not our attack, as was presented [words indistinct].

[Sisic] How are the defenders doing?

[Izetbegovic] The defenders are doing well, thank God. The attack has entered the ninth hour. It is now about 1800 [1600 GMT]. Our lines are firm. Therefore, the defense has resisted the attacks. What should be pointed out here is that we have significant reinforcements and reserves in the town and did not need to use them. The defense has held up and fully accomplished the (?task of protecting the lines).

[Sisic] How is UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] behaving in this situation?

[Izetbegovic] I would not say it is behaving strangely even though it is behaving in a strange way. We, however, have stopped being amazed by all this. They were attacked; I personally saw how their position on Debelo Brdo, their bunker and the flag were attacked at about noon. I saw shells exploding up there. They did not do anything, not even to defend themselves. On the other hand, we were informed that the Chetniks in Lukavica today took the weapons, some weapons. We do not know exactly how many they took. These weapons were stored there and were under UNPROFOR control. UNPROFOR did not react. Finally, this is the most massive attack on the city since 9 February last year, when NATO launched an attack, when the protected areas were set up.

They did not call for NATO air strikes against the attackers, even though the attackers are using banned weapons, those over 12.7-mm, in the protected area. We are talking about hundreds of shells that landed on the city.

[Sisic] What can we expect? What will be done? What will our government, or the Presidency do?

[Izetbegovic] Apart from protection measures that we are taking all the time, we will probably make two political moves. First, the prime minister will present via our embassies, our ambassadors a demarche to a number of countries, primarily the members of NATO, plus [words indistinct] including Turkey, of course. We are talking about the United States, Germany, England, France, and probably Russia. They will present a demarche and inform the governments of these countries on what happened today. This is the first thing.

Second, I gave instruction to our Ambassador Sacirbej immediately to take the necessary steps with Butrus-Ghali in the United Nations and the Security Council. This is what we can do at present.

[Sisic] Thank you, Mr. President.

Conflicting Reports on Sarajevo Cease-Fire

U.N. Reports Cease-Fire

LD1605224395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2058 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 16 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem and Serb representatives agreed Tuesday afternoon to halt fighting near Sarajevo which, according to U.N. officials, flared up after Moslem troops had attacked the Serb residential area of Lukavica.

International news agencies reported that the fighting had abated soon after the agreement had been reached at 5 p.m. local time (1500 GMT), although sporadic firing could still be heard.

U.N. Spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Gary Coward said, "we have agreement from the warring parties that they will refrain from offensive actions around the city and that their troops will take defensive actions only."

At least five people were killed, while 26 were wounded in the fighting around Sarajevo on Tuesday. U.N. officials described the fighting as the fiercest witnessed by Sarajevo since 1993, and said more than 800 heavy weapons detonations had been registered.

The agreement was reached between Bosnian Serb General Zdravko Tolimir and Bosnian Moslem Brigadier

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General Mustafa Hajrulahovic, and was brokered by French Major-General Herve Gobilliard.

U.N. Special Envoy Yasushi Akashi on Tuesday called on the warring sides to cease the fire and to open serious talks that would lead to a lasting political solution to the Bosnian crisis.

In a statement released in Zagreb, Akashi said the fighting near Sarajevo had annulled the latest gains in the Bosnia peace process.

Akashi said the alternative to military option was a cooperation with the United Nations on a step-by-step path to peace.

Bosnia Serbs Deny Agreement

LD1705093695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0925 GMT 17 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 17 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Army Assistant Commander, Gen. Zdravko Tolimir denied Wednesday news agencies' reports that a ceasefire agreement was reached Tuesday.

'I neither negotiated with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] representatives nor with the enemy side,' said Gen. Tolimir in a statement to the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA.

U.N. representative in Sarajevo Gary Coward said, as news agencies reported Tuesday, an agreement existed with the warring sides that they would refrain from offensive actions around Sarajevo and that their troops would only defend themselves if need be. He specified that the agreement was reached with the mediation of the Sarajevo section [word indistinct] commander Gen. Herve Gobillard.

According to Coward, ceasefire accord in Sarajevo was confirmed on behalf of the Serb side by Gen. Tolimir, and on the Muslim side by Gen. Mustafa Harjulahovic.

One old man was killed and ten persons wounded in a Muslim offensive on Sarajevo's Serb sections, SRNA reported Wednesday.

According to U.N. reports, at least five people were killed and 26 wounded in the fighting in Sarajevo on Tuesday.

The Muslim forces fired its artillery from three directions in Sarajevo on UNPROFOR positions along the separation line, thus forcing the 'blue helmets' to take to shelter, SRNA reported, citing Bosnian Serb army sources.

The fighting in Sarajevo was begun by the Muslim side which shelled the barracks in Sarajevo's Serb section of Lukavica, as confirmed also by U.N. spokesman Joe Sills.

Cooperation of HVO, Bosnian Army 'Advanced'

AU1705085495 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 95 p 6

[Report on the interview with General Tihomir Blaskic, commander of the General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], by Sasa Rukavina, in Tomislavgrad; date not given: "Our Defense Lines Are True Bastions"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The terrain on which HVO troops are active is extremely demanding, drifts of snow there are over two meters high even now, but, according to Blaskic, his soldiers are "fanatically persevering, and determined to persist." On this front of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the HVO's "right hand neighbor" is the 7th Corps of the Bosnian Army. We asked Gen. Blaskic what the cooperation was like.

Advanced Cooperation

"Cooperation between us is well defined," Blaskic said. "The HVO troops of the Tomislavgrad district and the troops of the 7th Corps of the Bosnian Army have precisely defined areas of responsibility, and until now not only have we had no incidents, we have even collaborated very precisely. This cooperation exists from the level of platoon commander, to that of the whole district and the corps, and I consider it to be extremely good, and exactly the way it should be for the realization of tasks as complex and difficult as these."

The southern front of Bosnia-Herzegovina is not calm either. Provocations from the side of Vucurevic's [SDS leader from Trebinje] chetniks are frequent, and terrorist actions carried out from the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the territory of the Republic of Croatia did not even stop, for example, during the visit of Nikica Valentic, the prime minister of Croatia, to Dubrovnik. Can HVO troops, in cooperation with the 4th Corps of the Bosnian Army, and, possibly, with the Croatian Army, do something against this terrorism?

"You are right, such attacks have no military aim, no military purpose, except as extreme terrorist actions with the aim of destruction and of the mass killing of civilians," Blaskic said. "Not wounding, but killing. After all, Martic confirmed this with his shelling of Zagreb, and the same happens here, in Stolac, for example. At the meeting in Travnik, we and the 4th Corps studied the military situation, we also studied it at the meeting that I had with General Rasim Delic [commander of the General Staff of the Bosnian Army], and we reached some conclusions concerning the prevention of such situations."

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Blaskic believes that the military preparedness and condition of his troops are at a high level, that there are enough guard brigades [gardijske brigade] and that there is sufficient potential for all the decisions of the state leadership of both the federation and "Herzeg-Bosnia" to be fully realized. According to the details about the actions on Mount Dinara that were published in the Croatian press, there is no reason to doubt this. [passage omitted]

Serb Use of 'Chemical Agents' Against Sarajevo

AU1605103595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 16 May 95

[Report by Sead Custovic from the Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] As far as we can tell at the moment, the most fierce attacks are directed at the area of Zlatiste, Debelo Brdo, Antene, Spicasta Stijena, but also other parts of Sarajevo. Sniper fire and small arms fire is targeting open spaces in the city.

The enemy artillery attack that has been under way for several hours now is continuing against almost all the parts of the city. The latest information is that some parts are under fire from a tank located in Grbavica, while the aggressor's mortars are firing from Nedzarici at Dobrinja, and from Vrace [words indistinct]. The mortar shells have been landing on Kosevo and near the School of Economics.

The enemy has used chemical agents in Zlatiste.

We still do not have information as to possible casualties. There are unexploded shells in some locations in the city. We warn the citizens to be extremely cautious.

SRS's Seselj Killed Serb Citizen in Sarajevo

AU1605120995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 1st Corps has issued the following statement:

The person killed three days ago in Dinara Street by a bullet fired from a Broving gun was a Serb. His murder would have been forgotten after the announcement and obituary in the newspapers, had not warlord Seselj publicly bragged in the aggressor's media that on that day he had pulled the trigger on the said weapon. Going even further in his self-praise, he also listed the witnesses that could confirm that he had scored a full hit with his Broving. In his moment of glory, Seselj was unaware of the fact that in Dinara Street he had killed Mile Vasiljevic, a worker in the city bakery, a Serb, one of whose sons is a sniper on the aggressor's side, while the other son lost both legs fighting in the same ranks at the beginning of the war.

We have had plenty of occasions to see for ourselves from the outset of the war just how much Karadzic, Seselj, and the other fascists from Pale care about the Serbs in the besieged Sarajevo. The chetnik warlord has just served to confirm this.

'Milosevic's Traitorous Regime' Condemned

AU1605200495 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] RS [Serbian Republic] President Radovan Karadzic, RS Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik, and Velibor Ostojic, president of the Executive Committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands [SDS], met with a delegation of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] today in Pale to discuss the defense of the Serb ethnic territory. This is what SRS President Vojislav Seselj and SDS Executive Committee President Velibor Ostojic had to say about the most burning issue:

[Begin recording] [Seselj] Ladies and gentlemen, the SRS delegation has been on the territory of the Serb Republic for five days now. This time, our primary goal was to visit frontline soldiers in Serb Herzegovina, Serb Sarajevo, and Serb Gorazde. We, the Serbian Radicals—and the delegation is composed of Mr. Tomislav Nikolic, Mr. Aleksandar Vucic, Mr. Stevo Dragisic, from Serbia, Mr. Nikola (?Poplosa) with a group of assistants from the Serb Republic and myself. [sentence as heard] We, the Serbian Radicals, are very pleased with the high morale of the Serb soldiers who are determined to fight for freedom on all fronts we visited. Regardless of privation caused by Slobodan Milosevic's traitorous regime in Serbia, regardless of a shortage of food, material, etc., Serb soldiers are determined to fight this war to the end and to preserve the Serb lands.

Today, we are meeting with the highest officials of the Serb Republic. We are meeting with RS President Radovan Karadzic, National Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik, and SDS Secretary General Velibor Ostojic.

[Ostojic] Allow me to welcome the delegation of the SRS and say that I am pleased to meet with the leaders of this Serbian national party today. The presence of the Serbian Radicals here in Pale shows that we are not alone in our fight. The presence of the Serbian Radicals on the territory where the Serb nation is fighting a crucial battle shows that, at this moment, on

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this territory west of the Drina and the Danube, only the national option will be accepted. Today we—the leadership of the SDS and of the Serb Republic and the leaders of the SRS—discussed how the Serb nation can defend its ethnic territory and its young states, the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina, what lessons we can learn from the misfortune of Western Slavonia, and how to tell the people who is really to blame for what happened in Western Slavonia. That is not the fault of the Serb Democrats, i.e. the SDS, nor of the Serbian Radicals, i.e. the SRS, but of the revived communist policy of Belgrade, which for the sake of reintegration of a new Yugoslavia, through the reintegrated Croatia, is obviously looking for culprits, wanting to establish an alibi for that which it must do before the international factors: recognize former Yugoslav republics. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Serb Official on Opening of Sarajevo Airport

LD1605180195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 16 May (TANJUG)—Today, Dr. Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serb Republic and chairman of the state commission for cooperation with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], informed Yasushi Akashi, special envoy of the UN secretary general, that "the Serb side is ready to open Sarajevo airport for humanitarian flights if sniper activity in the city is halted," SRNA reported.

In his letter, the Serb Republic vice president stresses that "the Serb side is expecting the other relevant agreements to be respected, especially those relating to civilians and prisoners."

"Because of the general [globalna] deterioration of the situation in the Sarajevo region, the Serb side is ready to hold a top-level meeting with the Muslim side in order to prevent the escalation of current military activities," Koljevic says in his letter to Akashi.

UBHSD Wants Akashi Declared Persona Non Grata

AU1605165995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 May 95

[Report by Dzevad Kurtovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] One republic, one government, and a federation of cantons is the only real option for the implementation of the Washington Accord. This was stated at the news conference held by the Union of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats [UBHSD] today. Dzevad Kurtovic reports:

[Kurtovic] At today's UBHSD news conference, journalists were addressed by Efem Biber and Dzevded Ibrasimovic. They spoke about some topical issues concerning relations between the Republic and the Federation, and the position of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force].

The party takes the view that the issue of one or two governments is an illusionary dilemma, and that the building and [word indistinct] of the Federation throughout the internationally recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina constitutes the essence of its organization. It is therefore necessary to expand the Federation Constitution to include the entire territory of the Republic, and at the same time rely on real, patriotically oriented forces in this process.

The current situation in which we have three governments, Biber said, does not lead to the settlement of the Bosnia-Herzegovina issue as a whole. One republic, one government, and a federation of cantons is the only real option if the implementation of the Washington Accord is truly desired.

The intention by France and England to withdraw troops from UNPROFOR is the obvious example of pressure on the legal authorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina to accept Karadzic as an equal partner in the negotiations and in this way justify the aggression which he and his supporters, together with Serbia and Montenegro and the former Yugoslav People's Army, carried out against the recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Even if they withdraw, others will come. We have not had any great benefit from them anyway. So far they have been conducting the policy of their governments and have in most cases supported the aggressor, Ibrasimovic said.

The fact that heavy weapons have not been removed from the protected areas, that they are not under UNPROFOR control, and that they are being used in the attacks on Sarajevo and its citizens as we speak, confirms the erroneous and futile policy of the United Nations and Akashi, who did not even permit intervention by NATO aircraft. For this reason we have already started an initiative that Yasushi Akashi be declared persona non grata in Sarajevo.

Finally, the UBHSD takes the view that the convening of the Republican Assembly on 20 May has not been preceded by broad consultations and preparations. The party fears that there will be no quorum either, as many assembly deputies will not be able to come.

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Krajisnik: Serbs Against Unified Bosnian State

LD1605213895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2052 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 16 May (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the people's assembly of the Serb Republic, told BETA today that Serbs in the Serb Republic will never accept the former Bosnia-Herzegovina as a unified state, even if Belgrade were to recognize it within its communist borders.

Assessing that recognition of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina would be "a catastrophic move by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic," Krajisnik expressed his conviction that this will not happen.

"I would like to believe that Milosevic will not do anything like this. After all, Serb policy must understand that any offer coming from the United States is designed to suffocate the Serb people, not only the Serb Republic or the Republic of Serb Krajina," the national assembly speaker stated.

Speaking about the consequences of the events in Western Slavonia, Krajisnik expressed doubt in the possibility that Western Slavonia had been sold in a deal between Belgrade and Zagreb.

"We lost Western Slavonia because we had begun to treat Croats as our friends, trading and cooperating with them, instead of treating the area under their control as enemy territory," Krajisnik said.

Krajisnik accused the Muslim side of bringing about the latest escalation in the fighting on the Sarajevo front, saying that this is "a preface to a bigger operation planned by the Muslims with the aim of gaining control of the whole of Sarajevo, because they are unable to accept the fact that Sarajevo is a divided city."

Leading HDZ Man To Be Indicted in The Hague

AU1705095195 Sarajevo OSLOBOĐENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 95 p 2

[Article by Senad Avdic: "Dario and the Valley of Horrors"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Things are getting serious with today's opening of the file on the crimes committed in the Lasva valley, in the International Tribunal in the Hague; one can judge that by the letter of the Federation President, Kresimir Zubak, sent to the editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES. In that letter, Zubak reacted to the this paper's "speculations" that the leading man of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] in Bosnia, Mr. Dario Kordic, was among those whom prosecutor Goldstone intended to bring to the Hague court. People who in the last few weeks had the opportunity to meet Kordic say that he was by no means calm or self-assured in expectance of the opening of the "Crimes in the Lasva Valley" file, which was announced on the same day as the charges against Karadzic, Mladic, and Stanisic.

Those who are better acquainted with the relations within the HDZ leadership in Bosnia-Herzegovina add that Kordic is at the moment one of the biggest "friends of the federation." To support this, they mention the latest developments within the leadership of the HDZ and of "Herzeg-Bosnia" after which Pero Markovic, Ivan Bender, and Bozo Raic—generally considered to be three main antifederation musketeers of "Herzeg-Bosnia"—were left without any party or "state" functions. Could one venture to suggest that through his "constructive approach" to the federation, Dario Kordic is trying to conceal his engagement in the destruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of its defense, which, as it seems, "recommend" him as one of the most prominent "guests" of Richard Goldstone in the Hague?!

Stewart: "Damn HVO...."

THE NEW YORK TIMES is not the first, but it is possibly the most authoritative source to announce the accusation of Dario Kordic as one of those most responsible for the preparation and realization of the crimes committed in the valley of the Lasva river. At the end of 1993, the district prosecutor in Zenica brought charges against around 20 people suspected to have organized and committed the massacre of civilians in the village of Ahmici, in the vicinity of the town of Vitez. On that occasion, on 16 April 1993, at least 115 Bosniak civilians were killed (according to some sources, the number of victims was 136). Besides the first accused Kordic, those accused of this crime are Tihomil Blaskic, the commander of the HVO for central Bosnia, Ante Valenta, the vice president of the HDZ of Vitez, Darko Kraljevic, the commander of the special unit "Vitezovi" (the nephew of the deceased Blaz Kraljevic), and a large number of other party and military leaders from Busovaca and Vitez. It is hard to believe that prosecutor Goldstone, in compiling the file on the crimes of HVO troops in the Lasva valley, relied exclusively on the material acquired from Bosnian authorities, i.e. on the charges raised in Zenica. The fact that the Bosnian-Herzegovinian judiciary forwarded documentation on tens of crimes that had been perpetrated in Bosnia in the course of the war to the Hague prosecutor, and that of these, the "Lasva case" is among the first to be opened (right after the crimes committed in Serbian camps), shows that Goldstone, in documenting that case, also used another, "independent" source. As it seems, this is the source of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], which autonomously and meticulously investigated the

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crime against the civilians of Ahmici, and submitted their own evidence and findings to the Hague tribunal. From the beginning of the war the situation in central Bosnia was supervised by British UNPROFOR troops, under the command of Colonel Bob Stewart. Those troops, lead by Col. Stewart, were the first to enter this village some 10 hours after the massacre in Ahmici occurred, and were the first to witness the bestiality and brutality of the perpetrators of that crime.

Several hours later, at the news conference in the Zenica "Internacional" hotel, Col. Stewart could not, and did not wish to, hide his tears and his grief. In reaction to the crimes of which he had seen the evidence, Stewart publicly promised that the perpetrators of that crime would be punished. Two days later, as the charred bodies of the killed civilians were being taken away from Ahmici, the British SKY NEWS television recorded the words of one of Stewart's closest assistants, addressed to the HVO soldiers: "Damn the HVO, damn Tihomil Blaskic!"

According to some very well informed sources, Col. Stewart facilitated the transportation of some Croats from Busovaca and Vitez to Croatia, asking, as a sort of return favor, for information on the organizers and perpetrators of the massacre of civilians in the village of Ahmici. On his own initiative, he resigned the post of commander of UNPROFOR for central Bosnia, and returned to England. The fact that Stewart brought with him from Vitez to England a bear named "MacKenzie," whose owner was killed by HVO soldiers in Ahmici, was a little sensation for the media. In Zenica there were rumors that Tihomil Blaskic allowed Stewart to take "MacKenzie" only after UNPROFOR enabled the Zenica HVO commander, Dominik Sakic, to travel from Zenica to Vitez.

Kordic—A Colonel

It remains to be seen how prosecutor Goldstone has distributed and measured individual roles in the Ahmici crime, and in what way and with what arguments culpability would be proved before the court. When the possible guilt of Dario Kordic is concerned, then the HDZ president will have little use for the Federation President Kresimir Zubak, himself a jurist, protecting him before the readers of THE NEW YORK TIMES. Zubak's remark that Kordic "from the beginning of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina until now has only performed political functions" is absolutely false, since Kordic, besides being the head of the Busovaca HDZ, was also, before and during the war, the president of the HVO in that municipality, and the whole district. The rank of colonel, which Kordic held for two years, is seldom given to those who "perform only political functions." Another observation from Zubak's letter—that the fact that "Mr. Kordic is accepted by the other side as well" spoke enough about his peaceful policy—could hardly help Kordic (in case his guilt is proved). The 'other,' i.e. the Bosniak, side has never been consulted when it came to the issue of who they would have to negotiate with—whether the person in question was Kordic, or some other "Hague patients," like Karadzic, Mladic, Stanisic!

Will today's opening of the file on the crime of HVO troops in the Lasva valley harm the federation, and to what degree? From the pragmatic point of view, one might say that this "opening of wounds" could reduce the degree of trust between the two peoples of the federation to a dangerous, inflammable level. From the point of view of the iron logic of law and justice, and its "mannequin" Richard Goldstone, daily pragmatism and "actual circumstances" have no relevance. According to that logic, it is possible to establish trust between people and between nations only after those who destroyed and challenge that trust by their brutal and destructive methods are legally punished.

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Tudjman Satisfied With Visit to Germany

LD1605175795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, returned this evening from his one-day official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany where, in Bonn, he had talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. At Pleso airport President Tudjman was welcomed by Katica Ivanisevic, Gojko Susak, Borislav Skegro, Hrvoje Sarinic, Mate Granic, Branko Miksa, and others. President Tudjman made the following statement to reporters there:

[Begin Tudjman recording] I am very satisfied. If you have two hours of talks with Chancellor Kohl—it is known what role he plays not only in Germany but in European and world politics—and in this connection I can say that we are very much in agreement on vital questions and European policy on resolving the crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia; and if after these two hours of talks on general issues and bilateral relations, you have one further hour of talks with Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Kinkel, where we also reached agreement on concrete issues and not only intensified mutual understanding but also agreed further improvements, then I believe that I can assess that the visit was very fruitful. [end recording]

New Osijek Airport Commissioned on 16 May

LD1605134095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 May 95

[Zeljko Kovacevic report from Osijek]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A Croatian Airlines (?ATVR-40) plane landed at Osijek Airport at 1444 [1244 GMT] today. Aircraft will now fly the Zagreb-Osijek-Zagreb route three times a week.

This was the first official flight by a passenger plane since 30 June 1991, when a Croatian Airlines plane flying on the Zagreb-Skopje route landed at the then temporarily occupied Osijek Airport. near the village of Klisa. Today's landing on the 1,300 meter airstrip opened the new Osijek Airport, near the town of Cepin. [passage omitted]

Krajina Serb Commander Submits Resignation

AU1505143195 Paris AFP in English 1420 GMT 15 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 15 (AFP)—The commander of Serb rebel forces in Croatia, General Milan Celeketic, has tendered his resignation to rebel leader Milan Martic, the Serb news agency ISRKA reported Monday [15 May].

Celeketic said in a letter to Martic that he "no longer had the moral force necessary" to carry out his functions after Croatian government troops recaptured the rebel-held Western Slavonia region earlier this month.

Political leaders in the Krajina where the Serbs declared their independent republic were responsible for the loss, Celeketic added.

Western Slavonia was part of the separatist Krajina republic.

Cites Broken Promises

LD1505151395 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 15 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 15 May (TANJUG)—Major General Milan Celeketic, commander of the Serb army of Krajina, has sent a request to Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]—who is also the supreme commander of the armed forces—asking to be relieved of his duties as commander, the ISKRA news agency reported today.

Celeketic said that he made the request because of the loss of territory following the latest Croatian aggression against the RSK, which "broke the promises he made when he took over his current position."

Celeketic added, however, that he has completely fulfilled the second promise he made to "the president and the people, that the situation in the Serb army of Krajina should 'at least marginally improve' compared to the state of affairs he inherited when he assumed his duties." ISKRA states.

Successor Appointed

LD1605183595 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1749 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, May 16 (TANJUG)—The supreme defense council of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] Tuesday appointed Lt. Gen. Mile Mrksic as new commander-in-chief of the RSK army.

At the proposal of the RSK President Milan Martic, Mrksic was appointed RSK army chief of staff succeeding to Lt. Gen. Milan Celeketic, who asked Tuesday to be relieved of his duties, RSK news agency ISKRA reports.

Council members described Celeketic's request as a highly moral decision of a man who in no way bears the greatest responsibility for the military defeat in western Slavonija.

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Croatian Army on May 1 crossed the U.N.-controlled demilitarized zone and launched an aggression on the western Slavonija region of the RSK. According to RSK sources, about 1,000 Serb civilians were killed in the Croatian offensive, 1,700 were taken to prison camps and about 15,000 fled to the Bosnian Serb state.

Popovic: Serbs Prepared for Croatian Attack

AU1705085295 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 0500 GMT 17 May 95

[Report by Zoran Opra, including statements by Slobodan Popovic, press officer of the Serbian Army in Krajina, in Serbian with superimposed German translation, and by UNCRO spokeswoman Kirstin Haupt in German]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Opra] A large celebration was planned in Borovoselo, an industrial suburb of Vukovar, on 2 May because four years have elapsed since the first resistance by the Krajina Serbs against the Croatian state. Yet the reconquest of Western Slavonia and the defeat of their army was a clear signal for the insurgent Serbs that this was no time for celebrations. After the loss of Western Slavonia, the Serbs want to prevent a surprise attack by the Croatians in eastern Slavonia and Baranja. Slobodan Popovic, press officer of the Serbian Army in Krajina, stated:

[Popovic] We have prepared ourselves for a Croatian attack. Mobilization has been carried out and combat readiness has been increased to the highest possible level.

[Opra] A much larger number of soldiers and armed men in camouflage uniforms can now be seen in the ruins of Vukovar. They are being taken in buses to the defense line along the buffer zone. Civilians also carry weapons. The city hotel of Vukovar on the Danube, which was only slightly damaged in the 1991 war, is surrounded by barbed wire and closely guarded by soldiers. The Krajina Army has established its headquarters at the hotel. This is no coincidence because the banks of the Danube on the other side belongs to rump Yugoslavia. The Serbs expect solid support from Belgrade in the event of an attack. Press officer Popovic stated:

[Popovic] We are in a position to defend ourselves for a certain period. However, we expect massive help from Serbia in any event. The Krajina Serbs are not alone.

[Opra] In Erdut, 30 km north of Vukovar, the paramilitary troop of Zeljko Raznatovic-Arkan is exercising fraternal help. The tigers in black uniforms, who have repeatedly been accused of plundering and ethnic cleansing in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, belong to the 11th Corps of the Krajina Army. However, the headquarters of the UN protection force UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia] for the eastern sector is also in Erdut. UNCRO's task is to ensure the separation of the hostile troops along the buffer zone. Yet tensions are increasing, particularly because the Croatian Army and the Serbian troops have removed their heavy weapons from the UN depots. UNCRO spokeswoman Kirstin Haupt said:

[Haupt] We have observed since January that particularly the Serbian side has removed weapons from this depot and positioned them again in the sector. The same can now also be noticed on the Croatian side—that heavy weapons are there, too. Thus, there is a great danger that hostilities may break out as a result of a provocation—local hostilities that could spread to the entire region.

[Opra] There is still peace in eastern Slavonia and Baranja. The fact, however, that both the Croatians and the Krajina Serbs have evacuated women and children from the villages along the buffer zone shows clearly that war might break out any time.

Request by 3,000 Serbs for Evacuation to Bosnia

LD1505145995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1331 GMT 15 May 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Gradiska, 15 May (SRNA)—More than 3,000 Serbs from the municipalities of Okucani and Pakrac, who have been held in the village of Seovica in the suburbs of Pakrac, have expressed the wish to be evacuated to the [Bosnian] Serb republic as soon as possible.

SRNA was told by an UNHCR official in Gradiska, who wished to remain anonymous, that the detained Serbs had told UN representatives in the area that they wished to be evacuated to the Serb republic.

According to UN and UNHCR representatives, Serbs in the Pakrac area are uncertain and fear for their future, especially because many families have been separated and men have been taken to Croatian prisons.

A total of 897 people of Serb nationality from the Pakrac area and the northern part of the Okucani municipality have so far crossed to the Serb republic under the auspices of the UNHCR and the UN peace forces. Another convoy of Serbs is expected to cross the r Sava today.

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Commentary on Effectiveness of Contact Group

95BA0232A Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 15-17 Apr 95 p 12

[Commentary by Danko Plevnik: "League of 'Gentlemen'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnian problem is not the work of the Contact Group, of course, but the continuation of the Bosnian crisis is definitely thanks to it. Specifically, it is only dealing with keeping the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina from spreading to the immediate (southern Balkan) and more distant (Near East) vicinity, and not growing into a conflict among the great powers themselves, and not with really stopping it! Bureaucratic inventiveness and old-fashioned diplomatic demonstrations are therefore not succeeding in making any impression on the combatants, especially the father of all the wars in the former Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic. By persistently treating Milosevic like a gentleman, the Contact Group is becoming less and less like a group of gentlemen. It is therefore not surprising that Milosevic still remains the biggest exploiter of "contact crises," demanding strategic and not just tactical concessions.

Waiting for events and the situation to offer him a new solution, Milosevic is continuing to demand so much that no one can satisfy him, following the established custom that the best way to extract concessions is to declare every offer sufficient. That is already making the Contact Group members angrily petty, and so they are virtually announcing their withdrawal and distancing themselves from Bosnia, as if they did not know that the indolence and neutrality of third countries always play into an aggressor's hands.

Such gestures of immoral support for an aggressor, however, were not invented in modern diplomatic history for Bosnia-Herzegovina, but rather for Ethiopia exactly 60 years ago. In 1935 Mussolini went into Ethiopia to create a Roman Empire, just as Milosevic went into Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to create a Greater Serbia. Back then the League of Nations used the peace mechanism against the first victim of Italian aggression, just as today the UN is using that mechanism against the victims of Serbian aggression. Alija Izetbegovic is showing a martyr's loyalty to the UN Charter in the same useless way that Haile Selassie believed in the Pact of the League of Nations. Both of them, at different times, wanted to achieve the same thing: to encourage the conscience of Europe to take action by publicly exposing the aggressor's crimes and appealing against the injustice toward the international order. There have been no practical dividends from Izetbegovic's sacrificial moral capital, however, nor did Selassie receive any. Was it realistic to expect that, for instance, the British would see Ethiopians as people equal to themselves if, about 10 years earlier, Britain had opposed the admission of Ethiopia to the League of Nations because it was a "barbarous country"? And will it support the creation of an "Islamic country" after it recommended that Bosnia-Herzegovina remain part of Milosevic's Yugoslavia? Both then and now, the British have proven to be skilled at localizing war and pathologizing diplomacy.

"Good" Benito

Mussolini was glorified as a "pillar of peace," and many people, even Churchill, portrayed him as a great politician, just as Milosevic is viewed today; he became a man of peace just after he occupied 70 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina. When the "good" Benito attacked Ethiopia, the United States banned trade with both sides. That "justice" was repeated when the "liberating" Slobodan began to "genocidize" Bosnia-Herzegovina. The United States firmly denied weapons to Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was totally unarmed, and to Serbia, which is among the largest world arms exporters! When Ethiopia was attacked, the United States condemned France and Great Britain for not saving Ethiopia. It repeated that when Bosnia-Herzegovina was attacked, by not sending weapons and soldiers to help the French and English forces as guardians of the Pax Serbica in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

All of these examples are serving to disillusion Bosnia-Herzegovina about the stories about the world conspiracy against Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnian Muslims because they profess the Islamic faith, i.e., to recognize the diplomatic and state nature of the so-called democratic great powers like France and England, and to remove from them the accusation that they are behaving this way for the first time solely because of Bosnia-Herzegovina. For example, when Hitler began to reflect on Austria, then Austrian Chancellor Kurt von Schnuschnigg tried to save what was then independent (and not unrecognized) Austria by scheduling a plebiscite on retaining independence from Germany. France and England immediately determined that that step by Schnuschnigg was "overemphasized." Wasn't the same thing said when Izetbegovic held his plebiscite on preserving Bosnia-Herzegovina's independence? Because Bosnia-Herzegovina was then still part of Yugoslavia, it can be said that France and England were fairer toward Izetbegovic than toward Schnuschnigg, who already had an independent state.

Genocidal Response

Furthermore, Izetbegovic, after declaring the statehood of Bosnia-Herzegovina, soon received a response from

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Serbia in the form of a unique, and then also genocidal, war. Spain, for example, gained a republic in 1931, but its "Karadzic" only appeared in 1936. Although a socialist coalition was in power at that time in France, just like Mitterrand at the time of the destruction of the proclaimed state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in 1936 France and England did not want to permit the arming of the legal republican government in Spain, as they were simply obligated to do under all international usages and laws, especially because there was no question of assisting "Islamic fundamentalists," but rather republicans following the model of the French Parliament.

Consequently, there is nothing new in the West! The only thing new is that it all seems to the East to be new and originally immoral and undemocratic, invented just in order to sabotage Bosnia-Herzegovina. Even then, however, the European great powers were the most important things to themselves—otherwise they would never have been great powers—and the only thing that they feared was the disruption of the balance of power that could have occurred if one leaned toward another. It is in that way that one must view the "work" and "effectiveness" of the Contact Group in which sometimes the red rag of fear is waved by the United States, France, Britain, and sometimes by Russia. When it suits the Western powers, they pretend to be "helpless" and blame everything on the "strength" of Russia (whose interest is only to have the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina continue, and not to have either side win, because as long as the war continues, so does its credibility with the Greater-Serbian side), and when they feel that promises will gain them more, they start to brandish their omnipotence. In the end, they will all manage to reconcile themselves to Milosevic's ultimatum: "Either a general war in the Balkans, or nothing." Consequently, nothing!

Lost Hearing

Milosevic is enjoying himself with that nihilism, offering Muhamed Filipovic Bosnia-Herzegovina out of the blue. Because Bosnia-Herzegovina is "Yugoslavia in miniature," he had to help destroy it, because it "cannot and could not" survive as long as it was whole. Today, Milosevic is willing to recognize it, out of the "three parts"!? Probably in order to prove the survival of his "rump Yugoslavia," because if the "rump Yugoslavia" and the "Yugoslavia in miniature" survived, probably the greater Yugoslavia will also be reborn someday. Milosevic's "consent" to the full sovereignty of only Bosnia-Herzegovina, and not Croatia, is a lure to Croatia to give up its right to possess the property that it created by itself as part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia!

Those demands will be constantly garnished with the old story about "premature recognition" and the unreality of the "administrative borders." By permitting Slovenia's departure from the theory of "Yugoslavism," however, Milosevic himself actually legitimized the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders; why is it that only the Slovene borders are not "administrative" or "premature"? And if they are valid for Slovenia, then they also have to be valid for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]. It is along those lines that the Contact Group should impose a solution on Milosevic, and not treat him like a "great politician" and "peacemaker." Unfortunately for those who were attacked, the great powers in the Contact Group are still deaf to that. Will an even bigger war restore their lost hearing?

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Tetovo University Rector To Be Released on Bail

AU1605205795 Skopje MIC News in English 16 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Albanian press in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] informs that Fadil Sulejmani, president of the illegal University in Albanian language in Tetovo, who has been sentenced to two and a half years to prison for "inciting resistance," will be released on bail today.

Apparently this information originates from the statement of the president of PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] Abdurahman Aliti, made at the recent meeting of this party in Tetovo.

With regard to this, the president of the Communal Court in Tetovo Krsto Popovski stated for NOVA MAKEDONIJA that the attorney of the accused Sulejmani had announced that he would make an appeal against the decision for holding Sulejmani in custody and offered bail of 50,000 German marks [DM].

Industrial Production Posts 18.6% Decline

AU1705062795 Skopje MIC News in English 16 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] According to the Government program, this year was projected to yield a growth of 0.8 percent in the GDP and also a growth of 0.7 percent in industrial production. Nevertheless, in the first three months of this year, the industrial production noted a drop of 18.6 percent compared to the first three months of last year.

In a statement for VECER Prime Minister Crvenkovski claims that it would be inappropriate to compare these three months with the same three months of last year because the Greek embargo was not in effect at the time, and that economic growth cannot be expected whilst two key processes in the state are being carried out: Rehabilitation of the banks and restructuring of the "loss-makers."

On the other hand, the Minister of Economy Risto Ivanov told VECER that it has remained unclear on the basis of which measures the government was planning a growth in the GDP, as, according to him, in the macroeconomic policy for this year, no measures for the industrial sector are foreseen—those measures are almost entirely for the financial sector. The only trump card the government can count on could be the public investments in the infrastructure, but such operations do not give fast results.

Alleged 'Anti-Macedonian' Campaign Noted

AU1705113795 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 16 May 95 p 4

[Commentary by Zoran Petrov: "On the 'Bulgarian Nature' of the VMRO-DPMNE"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The main media in neighboring Bulgaria are today full of reports and comments on the recent VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity] congress, which was held in Kicevo. The point that is particularly stressed in DUMA, KONTINENT, and STANDARD NEWS is that the VMRO-DPMNE finally admitted at its congress that "the legendary Internal Revolutionary Organization is Bulgarian in nature." The spectacular conclusion, therefore, is that, at this congress, the Macedonian opposition party actually "recognized the Bulgarian nature of the National Liberation Movement of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]." Moreover, it is argued that the Kicevo congress rehabilitated certain leaders of a Bulgarian unit in Macedonia in World War I—and the speech by a Bulgarian guest at the VMRO-DPMNE congress, former Chairman of the Bulgarian Assembly Aleksandur Yordanov, was quoted in this context. It is quite clear that the VMRO-DPMNE clumsily called its second congress the 10th in an allusion to the historical continuity of past VMRO congresses. All this was used to stir up a new wave of the anti-Macedonian campaign in Sofia.

Actually, this is not the first time that events in the Republic of Macedonia have been twisted and confused in the search for the so-desired self-recognition of the Bulgarian roots of the Macedonian nation. A small, sometimes insignificant cause is enough to start the anti-Macedonian machinery—which is one of the few things, if not the only one, that functions really smoothly. This is precisely the reason—at least for those who monitored the VMRO-DPMNE congress—that we must emphasize that there was nothing "pro-Bulgarian" in the open part of the congress. Perhaps some theses of this kind were brought up at the second plenary session of the congress, which was closed to the public. The journalists were informed, however, that the closed part of the party summit had discussed amendments to the party statute, which was then given to journalists and found to contain nothing of what the Bulgarian media are saying.

On the other hand, in the context of the congress, we must point out that it was precisely the continuity of the VMRO-DPMNE that made such speculation possible.

First, it is pretentious to appeal to the historical continuity of the traditions of the legendary VMRO (that

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is why the congress was called the 10th), while forgetting a few historical facts: first, the true reason why the VMRO was disbanded was ignored.

In the 1920's, with the coming of Mihajlov and Aleksandrov, this militant revolutionary liberation organization became a terrorist organization that later accepted the fascist ideology. It was precisely during its terrorist period that the VMRO held three congresses—again, numbered to show their continuity with the previous (the sixth in 1925, seventh in 1927, and eighth in 1932, all held in Gornodjumaj and Petric). Now 70 years later, the VMRO-DPMNE claims this same continuity. As usual, this uncritical and twisted understanding of historical facts was immediately seized upon by Sofia as a pretext for producing the already cited arguments.

The second essential element of the VMRO-DPMNE's general activities, one that characterized its recent congress, lies in its impassioned—that is, inarticulate—views on Bulgaria's assimilatory and denationalizing policy toward the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria. Apart from the congress declaration on "National Reconciliation and Unification of the Dispersed Macedonians," which merely mentioned that the human rights of Macedonians living in the neighboring countries must be dealt with by interstate agreements and on the principles of reciprocity, the VMRO-DPMNE leaders never took the opportunity to state in a document, or utter, a word of criticism of Bulgarian policy toward the Ilinden OMO [Ilinden United Macedonian Organization, illegal pro-Macedonian organization in southwestern Bulgaria]—and we know that the VMRO-DPMNE disapproves of this organization. The VMRO-DPMNE did not react to the Bulgarian special police's actions to prevent Ilinden OMO activists from paying their respects at the grave of Jane Sandanski [Macedonian revolutionary] in Rozhen Monastery, and now the Bulgarian media is making the VMRO-DPMNE pay double by promoting this party to role of the prophet of change in "behavior" toward the Bulgarian cause.

The VMRO-DPMNE must adopt a clear position on these issues and react to the latest accusations from our eastern neighbor. Hesitation and political vacillation will simply kindle doubt and suspicion about the real nature of this most Macedonian party—as it often calls itself.

The previous responses of the most responsible persons in the party that they will not accept a situation in which they are forced to defend themselves and issue denials lose their validity, because they have brought this situation upon themselves.

Health Minister Meets New Directors, Press

95BA0250A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 18 Apr 95 p 5

[Article by E.K.: "New Directors Present Their Programs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *According to the minister of public health, the change of directors was the result of a failure to make new developments and because of negative economic results and losses. In the future, directors of clinics will have greater responsibilities.*

Yesterday, on the initiative of Dr. Ilija Filipce, minister of health, a meeting was held between journalists and all the newly elected directors of clinics of the Medical School in Skopje.

At the start, the minister briefly explained the change of directors, stating that, in his view, with the exception of very few clinics, all the others were stagnating in their development. Furthermore, the minister said, the insignificant application of new developments, negative economic results, and severe losses have made the changes necessary. The changes in the clinics of the Medical School were also discussed by Professor Doctor Djordji Masin, interim director of the OOZT [Expansion unknown] clinics. He discussed, in particular, the strategic points on which, in his view, the leadership of the clinics must concentrate. In this sense, the first is to formulate a systematic approach to the solution of problems on the national level, such as pathology, skill, material resources, scientific developments, and so on. Dr. Masin said that a particularly significant factor is that of individuals and their creativity and inventiveness; he called for a differentiation of the personnel on the basis of quality and labor contributions. Furthermore, Dr. Masin discussed motivation as an element for incentive, selection and rewards which, in his view, could ensure progress and success in the work. He also emphasized the need to open outpatient clinics, intensify treatment at home, and reduce in-hospital treatment and the use of intrusive medicine. Dr. Masin also called for faster improvements in the physical condition of the facilities, improving the standard of life of patients and personnel, and improving the system of management, communication, and information.

After that, almost all the newly elected directors briefly described their programs for development of the individual clinics, particularly emphasizing the problems they are facing.

In conclusion, the dean, Doctor Ljubomir Caparoski said that, based on the concept of the present leadership of the Medical School, which is supported by the minister of health, in the future, directors of the clinics will have

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greater rights compared to those at present; they will be directors of university clinics and not only, as they have been so far, managers of work units. Furthermore, he stressed that it will be particularly urgent to make changes in the incomes of the personnel of the clinics.

He informed those present that several days ago the School of Medicine was, for the first time, officially accepted as a member of the European Association of Medical Schools.

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Minister Denies Knowledge of Chechen Radio Station

LD1605222695 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2200 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The activity of the Chechen Information Centre in Krakow as well as plans for the establishing of the Free Caucasus Radio in Krakow could have an adverse effect on relations between Russia and Poland. Such an opinion was expressed by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Here is Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski:

[Bartoszewski] In Poland we have the National Radio and TV Broadcasting Council, which grants franchises. As far as I know, nobody currently has such a franchise, and it is not known whether such a franchise will be granted. Only Moscow knows that somebody will obtain such a franchise and that he will be engaged in harmful activity. But I know nothing of this. And because I do not know this I cannot comment on issues that lie, moreover, outside the Foreign Ministry's responsibilities. There cannot be any repercussions because there is no such radio station. And because repercussions are dependent upon the fact that some Russian media say what is going to happen and some others provide documents, I first have to explain how these media obtained such precise information that the Foreign Ministry knows nothing about.

Kwasniewski Interviewed on Presidential Race

WS1705111595 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 15 May 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, candidate of the SdRP and the SLD for president, by Ewa Rosolak; place and date not given: "Left Wing Is My Greatest Asset"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rosolak] A few minutes after you received tremendous support from the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], we heard you make a travestied statement: "Friends, if you want, I must. If I must, I want." Could you decipher this, please?

[Kwasniewski] This was an expression of my respect for the voters and a conviction that their expectations, support, and votes are binding on me. If so, then I ought to run. Now, if I am to run, then only as a person who is entirely ready for this fight. This means that I want do it and that I am doing my best to end this race successfully.

[Rosolak] How will you want to want this? [sentence as published]

[Kwasniewski] Right now we are beginning staff work. On 13 June we are going to propose a full concept for our platform. In fact, you cannot expect any great surprises from me because, after all, I am an energetic politician, linked to a major grouping in which we are implementing a program that has been known and supported for two years now and that has elevated us to high offices in the government.

[Rosolak] Each candidate has his own idea of the presidency. What are the main duties of the first citizen of Poland, do you think?

[Kwasniewski] There are four main pillars: strengthening democratic structures, strengthening the law, creating a constitution, and creating one's own relations with state structures.

Second, the president should really ensure steady economic growth and those processes that result in Poland's well-being, on the one hand, and that can be felt by the people, on the other—the processes that reduce unemployment and tensions as well as offer better prospects.

Third, the president should create a civil society—that is, he should take steps to encourage the people to be more active, not to fear to make decisions and to take responsibility for what is going on around them. This goes for various areas—local communities, occupational self-governments, people's activity in culture, science, and sports.

The fourth, yet perhaps the most important task of the president, is to ensure a place for Poland in Europe.

I believe that the next five years will decide whether or not Poland will find itself in the EU and in European security structures. In this area, the role of the head of state as a partner, negotiator, and organizer of these processes is extremely important.

[Rosolak] So far you have not said much about what the third president of the Third Republic should be like. Now that the Fourth SdRP Convention has made its decision, you can no longer evade the question....

[Kwasniewski] Regardless of who is elected president, he should be a person who is able to construct and not destroy. It should be a person who seeks agreement, not conflicts and more "wars at the top"; it should be a person who encourages respect for the lawr, and not someone who stretches and adjusts it to his own needs.

I believe that the president must stand above all of the divisions that have been made so far; he ought to unite and integrate the people, as well as encourage them to accept common democratic values—national sovereignty, social justice, rule of law, and moral order.

I believe that such integration should also involve wise methods of settling disputes. Poles will continue to

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differ on many issues for a long time. A responsible president should see to it that they differ nicely.

The president should be a person who does not cause disputes; he should be an arbiter trying to find solutions to conflicts. Finally, he should be an initiator and advocate of activities in favor of millions of our countrymen all over the world.

[Rosolak] The support of your party, as well as the signatories of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], did not come to you as a surprise. Where else do you expect to find support?

[Kwasniewski] I believe that my voters are simply ordinary people who look at us with curiosity and who want normalcy. These are people who voted for others in the past or who did not vote at all; now they want to be sure that the future will be normal, foreseeable, and understandable. All of them can vote for me.

[Rosolak] What will specify the limits that you will impose on yourself during this campaign?

[Kwasniewski] I cannot get involved in a campaign of populism, a campaign in which candidates will answer all kinds of questions—including ones on fishing, agriculture, and superhighways. I believe that these issues are within the powers of the government and the parliament and that one does not need to discuss them. It should certainly be a campaign of a serious talk—not of invectives, allegations, and mudslinging. It should be a campaign close to voters—a campaign waged not only on television and in the modern media but, first of all, in direct contact with the people.

[Rosolak] I know that you think highly of the idea of competition and that you respect all countercandidates. This principle will most probably not be observed by everyone. From where do you think the greatest threats may come?

[Kwasniewski] I am expecting the most radical fight, the greatest difficulties and threats on the part of President Walesa.

[Rosolak] Why?

[Kwasniewski] Because of his determination, caused by the ruthless fight for reelection.

[Rosolak] You are a clear-cut representative of the left wing. However, you are also a candidate for president—that is, a person who is expected to treat all Poles equally. Will your leftist views not make it more difficult for you to try to understand all of us? After all, we all differ a lot, and not always in a nice way.

[Kwasniewski] I believe that the fact that a candidate has certain political views and a political base that supports him is a great advantage and prevents many disagreements. Unknown candidates can always give unpleasant surprises; however, candidates whose views are well known and who are predictable politicians can gain support not only from his own grouping, but from others as well.

Of course, I come from the SLD. I am a man of the left wing. Even if I tried as hard as I could to renounce this, it would be impossible because the support of the left wing and its sympathizers is my greatest asset.

[Rosolak] Thank you for the interview.

MON's Waniek To Head Campaign

WS1505145995 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 May 95 p 2

[Article by Luiza Kowalska: "Danuta Waniek Is Leaving the Defense Ministry; Is the SLD Laying Down Its Arms?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Danuta Waniek, the only representative of the coalition in the "presidential" Ministry of National Defense [MON], is to resign in one month's time. "I am leaving because the civilian authority at MON is weakening," is how she explains the unexpected move. "I can do more for Poland by heading the campaign committee of future president Aleksander Kwasniewski."*

Danuta Waniek entered MON exactly one year ago. Her appointment ended half a year of squabbling—the head of the "presidential" ministry at the time did not want to have a representative of the governing coalition at his side. In the end, however, Waniek did become a parliamentary under secretary of state and, dealing with legislative issues and contacts with parliament, was the only link the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] had to the military.

The president and the generals quickly picked her as a target for attacks for her anticlerical statements and lack of legal regulations for the military. Yet Waniek had no intention of yielding; only two months ago she rejected the post of deputy Sejm speaker, choosing to work for MON above all else.

On Sunday, however, an unexpected decision was made to appoint Waniek as head of the campaign committee for presidential candidate Aleksander Kwasniewski. This implies a voluntary resignation from the post of deputy defense minister.

"I did not have to leave MON," Danuta Waniek assured us. "I simply realized that the civilian portion of MON was becoming increasingly marginalized. I do not think

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anything can change before the elections; thus, staying on at MON would be sheer vegetation."

Waniek supposes the problems within MON can be solved only once a new president is elected. "I will do more by supporting that president than I could ever do by staying at MON," says the deputy minister.

Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski and Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy might have decided that Waniek is to leave MON earlier. On the very same day, on Saturday, they met at the Office of the Council of Ministers to discuss "problems pertaining to the military." "We had simply not seen one another for a long time," joked Okonski when we asked him about the purpose of the meeting. Okonski previously insisted on the dismissal of the other deputy minister, Jerzy Milewski.

"Danuta Waniek was a fast learner and showed strength of character in her contacts with the General Staff. She deserves respect for that. Unfortunately, she unnecessarily began her term in office with vociferous, anticlerical statements," says Bronislaw Komorowski, member of the Sejm Defense Commission, of the Freedom Union.

He does not rule out that Waniek's departure may be part of some "deal." "It is obvious the prime minister wants to avoid an open conflict with the Belweder and church officials at all costs. That is why he is eliminating all trouble spots, and Waniek definitely was one, with her decisive stance in conflicts with the General Staff and her anticlerical obsession," claims Komorowski.

It remains unknown whether the SLD can manage to plant another representative in MON once Waniek leaves. "I do not think so, but I do not know much about this issue," says Waniek. According to our sources, however, SLD leaders were already discussing potential candidates on Saturday. From old (Andrzej Karkoszka, Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, Jerzy Szmajdzinski) to new ones, "also affiliated with the military."

A new deputy minister cannot be appointed without the approval of both the prime minister and the defense minister.

UW Candidate Kuron on Campaign Policies

WS1605143395 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 May 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Malgorzata Subotic: "The Freedom Union Accuses the SLD of 'Clique Rule'; Kuron Shows His Presidential Vest"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Jacek Kuron, the Freedom Union's [UW] presidential candidate, accused the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] of "clique rule." He announced he would not resort to personal attacks in the campaign scheduled to begin in June and that "the president's foremost obligation is to be a president to all Poles, not just for one party." UW Chairman Leszek Balcerowicz accused Tadeusz Zielinski of involving the office of the civil rights spokesman in politics, which, after all, "should not be a springboard for furthering a political career." The UW Council adopted a code of ethic conduct for top party officials on Sunday.*

The Blunder of Being Too Optimistic

Kuron admitted on Sunday that he had erred. He was too optimistic about the SLD, which has been unable to settle accounts with the past to date. "And they are chiefly responsible for settling accounts with the Polish People's Republic." The UW presidential candidate accused the governing coalition of a "clique style of ruling the country, harming democracy, and hampering the construction of a new democratic order." He added that he is against the concept of "second-class citizens" and questioning the results of democratic elections. Asked whether he would attempt to dissolve the current parliament if he is elected president, he said he would only if the deputies agreed.

He declared his willingness to cooperate with groups both within the Sejm and beyond it.

He said that the foremost obligation of the head of state is to be a president to all Poles, not just for one party. He deemed the principle of "divide and rule" pernicious. Kuron wants to "unite for the sake of common rule."

Presidential Vest

If Kuron is elected president, he will appoint Janusz Onyszkiewicz secretary of state in his Chancellery. He stated that disclosing the names of potential associates should be an element of the presidential campaign of a candidate. "An elected president cannot pull out different people from under his vest." Voters should know their names early on.

He refused to answer questions on who he thinks might be his main rival in the second round and on the role of the church hierarchy in the campaign.

Health Condition Permitting

Journalists were presented Jacek Kuron's health certificate (he left the hospital last Friday, after a one-week convalescence following a fall from a bicycle). "Checked out of the hospital in good condition, allowing him to resume normal activities," wrote the head of the Health Ministry clinic where Kuron was treated. The NIE weekly, which alleged that the UW presidential candidate had an aneurysm, will have to either retract the report or be sued.

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Michal Boni was appointed head of Kuron's campaign committee. Heads of all regional committees are to be appointed by 3 June.

The election campaign of the UW candidate is to be launched in June. It is already known that the first campaign poster will bear the slogan "Jacek Kuron for president '95."

Caution: Eating Away the Fruits

Leszek Balcerowicz considered among the most disturbing phenomena of the Polish political scene the fact that offices nonpolitical by their very nature are being involved in politics. He quoted the conduct of Civil Rights Spokesman Tadeusz Zielinski as an example. That office should not serve as a "springboard for furthering a career." Mr. Zielinski should make a firm decision and announce whether he will run or not. Asked by journalists whether the opinion of not involving certain services in politics applies also to the candidacy of Adam Strzembosz (first president of the Supreme Court), Balcerowicz replied that "the civil rights spokesman has not even asked for a sabbatical."

Other disturbing issues that Balcerowicz sees in Polish politics include attempts at turning foreign policy into an object of internal squabbles between the president and the government, the most recent nomination of the chairman of the National Radio and Television Council, and the announcement that the head of the Supreme Chamber of Control is to be replaced.

He also expressed the opinion that "Poland is to a certain extent eating away the fruit of the developments that the last several years bore."

Balcerowicz stated that referring to his taking over as head of UW as a coup may be due either to misunderstanding or purposeful manipulation.

Minister Milczanowski Cited on Money-Laundering

MM1605141395 Krakow CZAS KRAKOWSKI in Polish 29 Apr-1 May 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Polish Laundry: Internal Affairs Ministry Says Some $2-3 Million 'Laundered' in Poland Each Year"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Each year some $2-3 million from illegal sources is laundered in Poland," Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski claims. To "launder dirty money" is to introduce money obtained through criminal procedures into legitimate financial markets. The minister disclosed that not even a single criminal investigation into an offense of this kind is being carried out at present, "despite the fact that we receive numerous alerts from our operatives. Unfortunately, none of these lend themselves to criminal investigation."

Milczanowski claims, citing Western experts, that Poland has until recently been listed as a country "moderately attractive for money-laundering operations." "But this situation is changing now," the head of the Internal Affairs Ministry warns. Despite the introduction of new legislation that carries penal sanctions for this offense, Poland is still perceived as a country with "weak legislation," lacking the requisite operational and technical backup facilities and where there is underinvestment in police and customs and excise services. It is also noted that problems with the credibility of potential investors threaten to "seriously undermine" the legality of privatization processes in Poland.

"Certain representatives of Polish economic and financial—but not government—elites regard various forms of securing foreign capital of undocumented provenance as a factor that can galvanize the state economy," the head of the Internal Affairs Ministry said. According to police data, the "gray zone" of the Polish economy generates about 21 billion new zlotys [Z] per year. In the opinion of experts from the Polish Academy of Sciences, the entire illegal financial market (including organized crime) generates a turnover of more than Z38 billion a year.

Unlike many Western states, Poland does not have a central administration organ set up to combat "money-laundering" activities.

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Iliescu, Herzog Hold Joint News Conference
AU1605170295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 1203 GMT on 16 May carries a 45-minute live relay of a joint news conference held by Romanian President Ion Iliescu and FRG President Roman Herzog at Cotroceni Palace, the presidential headquarters in Bucharest, an event that the announcer says is "to mark the conclusion of President Herzog's official visit to Romania."

Iliescu begins his introductory statement saying he would like to "emphasize once more, now, at the end of our talks, the political importance of the visit to Romania of the president of the Federal Republic of Germany. Above all, we consider this visit the expression of the positive evolution of the bilateral relations between our country. This visit confirmed the good climate of understanding that has established itself between our countries during the five years following the Romanian revolution; the comprehension of the processes taking place in Romania; and the changes in our political, social, and economic life." Iliescu then proceed to summarize the issues tackled during his talks with Herzog, one of which was "the place and role of the ethnic German community."

President Herzog thanks the Romanian Government for having invited such a "large" German delegation, and for its hospitality. After enumerating the Romanian political personalities with whom he held talks, Herzog reminds that by this visit he intended "to voice publicly two signals, which are also addressed to public opinion in Germany"—namely, "in favor of tightening bilateral ties" and "to encourage Romania to continue the reform process energetically." As regards the latter issue, Herzog emphasizes that "important are not so much the laws that exist but rather the way in which they are implemented." He then points out that foreign investments made in East Europe "would not harm national interests in any way. I heard quite often, although this does not refer to Romania, that they do not wish to sell out their country. But this should not be seen in this way."

Herzog then says that "regardless of how the process of joining European and Euro-Atlantic structures—that is: the EU, NATO, and the Western European Union, respectively—would proceed, it has always been Germany's conviction that Romania does belong among those structures, as it is a part of Europe—and not just geographically but also culturally and historically."

Herzog concludes by saying that tonight he and his wife are going to Sibiu, where they will meet with representatives of the German ethnic minority living there. "Therefore, for the time being, I would not like to say anything about the issues related to the ethnic Germans, as it is one of my principles to talk about things only after I have contacted the parties involved parties, and this has not happened yet."

In the beginning of the question-and-answer session President Herzog is asked about his opinion on the future of the ethnic German community in Romania, to which he replies by emphasizing its "role as a bridge connecting the two nations." Although he expresses his belief that "their staying here makes more sense," Herzog nevertheless mentions the fact that "the door ought to be kept open for those who wish to come to Germany."

In connection with the issue of Romania's integration into the EU, NATO, and the Western European Union, Herzog repeats that "in our opinion Romania belongs among the members of all those structures. One thing, however, should be clear: namely, that this thing is not intended against anyone, and we do not wish to erect new walls in Europe but rather to build a new Europe."

Answering a German journalist's question as to how the EU or NATO could profit from Romania's admittance, Iliescu replies: "The Cold War is over; the antagonism between the two opposing political structures is over; the Warsaw Treaty military bloc has vanished; the political, military, and ideological Iron Curtain between the two parts of Europe has disappeared as well. In this new context the entire mentality and philosophy of all existing European and Euro-Atlantic bodies has to be altered."

Iliescu says that NATO's function has become "a political one, intended above all to achieve a new type of security on our continent." He adds that this goal cannot be accomplished "if it looks for new partners in a selective way, by building new barriers and walls among various central and east European countries, but rather if it is equally open to all central and east European states. This is why Romania welcomes the Partnership for Peace as a step toward achieving this new function. But we did not welcome and will not welcome discriminatory visions regarding the countries in this region of Europe. We believe that the clear-cut political statements made by the NATO leadership and its member states had exceptional political value when they stated that NATO is not directed against Russia."

Iliescu then stresses the need for "finding appropriate forms of dialogue and partnership with Russia, too." Owing to this, says Iliescu, "it does not lie solely in Romania's interest that Romania should join NATO; it is also in the interest of NATO and its member countries to develop such a structure and new forms of partnership. The same goes for economic cooperation

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and integration on our continent. If it confines itself solely to the closed circle of its current members, the EU will be unable to fulfill its functions."

After illustrating this by mentioning "the perhaps greatest danger in the future: namely, the amplifying of the migration process of the poor of the world toward the rich regions," Iliescu says that "supporting the transition countries, as well as the poor, developing countries throughout the world also lies in the interests of the rich countries," which should be considered as "partners." "That is why our philosophy is not to go and beg with outstretched hands, asking for support from the rich countries, but rather to become their interesting partners. We know that this depends above all on us and our efforts, but I also believe that the economic relations among various states should be approached in a different way," Iliescu concludes.

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Federal

Army Chief Hopes for Resolution of Crisis

LD1605195195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1934 GMT 16 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Valjevo, Yugoslavia, May 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Army Chief of Staff Gen. Momcilo Perisic said Tuesday he hoped Yugoslav diplomats' overall efforts would be successful and the crisis in the former Yugoslavia would be resolved peacefully.

Speaking at a three-day conference on the quality of production in the military industry, Perisic said Yugoslavia must be ready to defeat an aggressor through the quality of both human and technical factor, should war be imposed on it.

The conference, taking place on Mt. Maljen near the western Serbian town of Valjevo, was organized by the Yugoslav Defence Ministry department for military and economic activities and the technical administration of the Yugoslav Army general staff.

The conference has rallied about 300 experts in the field.

Yugoslav Assistant Defence Minister Lt. Gen. Sava Pustinja said special attention should be paid to the quality of military outfit production because the U.N. Security Council sanctions had left no other option to Yugoslavia than to rely on its own capacities.

Moreover, Yugoslavia has to keep pace with the latest international achivements in the field, he said.

Lt. Gen. Pustinja said, "it is in Yugoslavia's strategic interest to be able to compete on an equal footing on international markets once the anctions are lifted, and it is up to us to improve our knowledge so that international regulations concerning the quality should not act as an obstacle to our appearance on world's markets."

Kosovo

Rugova on Continuing Serb Repression in Kosovo

Comments on Important Visits

AU1505111395 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 13 May 95 p 1, 3

[Article by Behxhet Haliti on news conference given by Ibrahim Rugova, "president of the Republic of Kosova," in Pristina on 11 May: "Recognizing the Sacrifices and Political Will of the People of Kosova"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We remind the great powers that when the people of Kosova were victims of military violence in 1945, about 50,000 of them were killed, and their right to self-determination was flouted. Unfortunately, the people of Kosova are still today subjected to the violence of occupation, and are even prevented from commemorating the end of World War II. Therefore, with the destruction of the former Yugoslavia, the Albanian people of Kosova and Kosova as a former federal unit declared independence. They have been making great sacrifices in order to achieve this goal through peaceful resistance. We ask for this sacrifice and the political will of the people of Kosova to be recognized, as a contribution to stability in the region and in Europe.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, also spoke at Friday's regular news conference about his recent visits to different countries and about the continuing repression in Kosova. He then replied to some questions from journalists.

Important Visits to Britain, Sweden, and Albania

Informing journalists about his recent official visits to several countries, the president of the Republic of Kosova said that he had made important visits to Britain and Sweden, and had had meetings with senior officials.

In Britain, Dr. Rugova said, we met Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and Secretary of State Douglas Hogg. While in Sweden we had a very comprehensive visit with very important talks with senior officials, such as Foreign Minister Wallen, the deputy minister, and other Swedish parliamentary figures. All these meetings both in Britain and Sweden were part of regular meetings between Kosova and Britain and Sweden. Agreements were also reached for the parliamentary deputies of Kosova to cooperate with the members of parliament of both these countries.

President Rugova said that he had also had top-level talks in Albania with President Berisha and other senior officials, the parliamentary parties, and various associations and groups. We talked about the positive economic, political, and cultural developments in Albania. I can say, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said, that all the Albanian political parties support the cause of Kosova and its independence as a key issue in the Balkans. A commitment to greater cooperation and to consultation came from all the Albanian political parties. We have therefore agreed that all the Albanian political parties in all the Albanian territories will cooperate more.

Appeal to Serbs: Do Not Provoke the Albanians!

After reporting on his visits abroad, Rugova talked about the repression and the police state in Kosova.

Raids on the pretext of searching for weapons continued last week. The repression was concentrated more on

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Suhareke and Malisheve. There were more than 20 interventions in 14 communes and in dozens of Kosova villages. Ten houses were searched for weapons in Rakaj near Ferizaj [Urosevac], and 11 Albanian families were raided in Nishec near Prishtina. As usual, Dr. Rugova said, the searches on the pretext of searching for weapons were accompanied by violence and harsh mistreatment.

The Kosova public was also greatly distressed by the trial of the former Kosova policemen, who are organized in their independent trade union, as well as by the trials in Gjilan and Prizren. We demand an immediate end to these political show trials and the release of the persons concerned. Dr. Rugova went on to say that the harassment of political activists of the Kosova Democratic League [LDK] and other parties continued. Hysni Kilaj, LDK chairman in Malisheve, and Gani Krasniqi of the presidium were detained several times by the police and mistreated. In Runik, Hilmi Hyseni, chairman of the LDK aktiv, was detained by the police and mistreated. Gjergj Dedaj, chairman of the Kosova Liberal Party, was detained by the police, and was subjected to threats of all kinds.

President Rugova went on to say that violence against Albanian education continued, especially in the commune of Dragash and in Prishtina. In order to isolate the Albanians as far as is possible, passports have been confiscated, including that of Abdullah Karagdiu, member of the presidium of the Albanian Christian-Democratic Party and a university professor. Dozens of other passports were seized throughout Kosova.

Unfortunately, Dr. Rugova said, Albanian sportsmen of Kosova are also being harassed, as in the case of Mehmet Tahiri of the Trepca soccer team of Mitrovice, who was sentenced to 10 days' imprisonment. Many other sporting events have also been suspended throughout Kosova.

We demand the release of all those imprisoned in recent years. These number hundreds of people. We also appeal to the Serbs of Kosova to think about their future in Kosova and also about the future of the Albanians, and to help avoid provocations from among their number and from the police in Kosova.

Serbia Must Be Faced With Conditions

Continuing the press conference, President Rugova said that Kosova is at the center of international attention. U.S. Congressman Moran, who was recently in Kosova, condemned the violence here and supported the active peaceful resistance of the people of Kosova. The effect of the mass demonstrations held throughout March in many European countries and the United States can be seen in the reply of the European Parliament to the LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo] branch in Brussels, saying that it would consider its petition. The Belgian Senate said the same. We hope that other countries too will examine the demands and petitions of these mass gatherings of Albanians. We repeat our continual demand for the international community to take preventive measures and to take Kosova under its protection.

In London, Paris, Berlin, and Moscow this week, commemorations marked the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, with the aim of promoting European understanding and integration.

Asked by the correspondent of ATA whether it could be fairly said that a consensus on the cause of Kosova has been achieved among all the political parties of Albania,, President Rugova said that this can be said, because all the political parties in Albania support the referendum for Kosova's independence and neutrality, and this is seen to be one of the best solutions on the basis of the current situation and today's political reality. We will make efforts for greater cooperation with the political parties in Albania, despite the obstacles of the borders, especially that between Kosova and Macedonia. Regular meetings and contacts with political parties, groups, and associations in Albania will continue not only through myself but through other Albanian groups and political parties in Kosova, Dr. Rugova said.

The VOA correspondent asked whether any change in Mr. Douglas Hogg's conception of Kosova had been observable at the meeting with him.

Dr. Rugova said that Mr. Hogg had developed a greater understanding of Kosova. And I can say that friendship between Britain and Kosova is developing. We are working to change the view taken of Kosova in Britain as far as possible, and we can say that we are changing it for the better, President Rugova said.

The VOA correspondent asked once again about the contradictory statements by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who says that sanctions against Serbia must be made conditional on Kosova, and Mr. David Austin, another British diplomat in Belgrade, who says that sanctions against Serbia will be lifted even without any solution to the problem of Kosova.

President Rugova said that Kosova is a condition for lifting sanctions against Serbia, as is Serbia's possible future inclusion in the European and international community.

The BBC correspondent was interested to know whether there was any specific initiative during the meetings and talks in London; President Rugova said that the visit and

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the contacts we forged in Britain were themselves a specific contribution. We also talked about the possibility of aid of various kinds for Kosova, and about the support in international circles from Britain as one of the great powers that is aware of the problem of Kosova.

[Box, p 1]

Possibilities for Dialogue Examined

Asked by the corespondent of Macedonian Television's Albanian-language program whether there was any movement regarding Albanian-Serbian dialogue, Rugova said that we talked in Britain about the possibilities of Albanian-Serbian meetings at different levels, and whether work is being done in this direction. There might be some small progress. We have no preconditions for this possible dialogue, except a halt to the repression and the creation of a favorable climate for dialogue, bearing in mind the possible participation in this dialogue of a third party authorized by the international community.

We Will Make Additions to the Government

The correspondent of the BBC asked about President Rugova's meeting with the government of the Republic of Kosova. Rugova said that he had met the part of the government that is abroad and the chairman of the Collegium of LDK branches abroad. What I have been saying for a long time is still true: there must be additions to the government, and we are being very cautious in this direction. We will examine adding to the government with the political parties that have constituted this provisional government, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said.

'No Willingness' for Talks

AU1505173195 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 May 95 p 8

[BETA report: "The Serbian Authorities Are Not Showing the Will To Start Negotiations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina—Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Democratic League of Kosovo [LDK], stated yesterday that it was necessary to create favorable conditions for the start of Albanian-Serbian talks and that police repression against Kosovar Albanians must stop first.

"The Kosovar Albanians have not set any conditions for dialogue, but the Serbian authorities are showing no willingness to start negotiations, and this is confirmed by the intensified repression," Rugova said at a news conference in Pristina.

'Independent and Neutral State'

AU1705083895 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 16 May 95 p 2

[Interview with Kosovar leader Ibrahim Rugova by Blerim Shala in Pristina; date not given: "The International Community Is Working Intensively To Start Talks on Kosova"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Shala] The situation in Kosova remains serious, and we repeatedly find ourselves on the brink of the abyss. As president of Kosova, you have appealed to centers of world politics to prevent the catastrophic developments in Kosova that have been forecast by important Western research institutes. How has the West responded to your appeals?

[Rugova] We are all aware that the situation in Kosova has been serious for years. It is a state of occupation. We must never forget this. Under such circumstances, like other peoples, we have created in Kosova institutions and a democratic and peaceful movement, which advance the cause of the Albanian people. It is important that the world is aware of the state of occupation in Kosova and is doing its utmost to prevent worse happening here.

The response to our appeals and assessments of the situation has been positive, and must be viewed in the context of the total crisis and the war in the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans, as well as in the context of the post-cold-war era, in which a new organization of Europe and the world is expected.

I might say here that our relations with the international community are not merely a matter of what you call appeals, but have meant the establishment of regular contacts. Kosova today is at the center of attention and on the international agenda of institutions and organizations. This is a very great achievement of our political movement. We are organized as a society and are functioning under conditions of occupation, working to realize our political and national goals.

[Shala] You have visited Britain and Sweden and have met senior representatives of the state administrations there. In Kosova, a section of the public is convinced that the British Government and especially Lord Owen as an intermediary at the Geneva Conference have assumed a political position that is not favorable for solving the question of Kosova.

[Rugova] We have regular relations with both of these states that I visited. As you know, Mr. Hogg received me in 1993, and was himself in Prishtina last year. This time, I met Mr. Hurd and him. This means that we

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have regular relations with Britain. We also have such relations with Sweden.

We must free ourselves from the political thinking that has prevailed among us hitherto, which I might call romantic-historical. Unfortunately, we have written history badly, without documentation, more a historical narrative than a history from which we may learn. I repeat that we must look at matters within the framework of developments in the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans. We as a state must have as many contacts as possible, and make as many friends as possible and preserve them. We were without friends and without connections for half a century, and without a presence on the international scene.

Let me add this: Britain is one of the great powers that knows the question of Kosova and Albania very well. We forget that in the course of history Britain has made positive efforts to solve our question, but we were unfortunately not prepared.

[Shala] Sweden and Scandinavian diplomacy in general, because of their well-known neutral position, are predisposed to mediate in cases of conflict like that of Kosova. Do you think that Sweden might play an important role in initiating serious Albanian-Serbian negotiations?

[Rugova] Sweden and many European countries have offered, to use the diplomatic term, their "good offices" to help negotiations to solve the issue of Kosova. Sweden could play a positive role in this direction.

We insist that a party must be authorized as an intermediary, and that this party must be found somewhere along the UN-U.S.-EU axis. A consensus on this axis is vital. The mediating party would guarantee the success of the dialogue and the realization of the agreement.

[Shala] Is there any new initiative to solve the problem of Kosova, or does the West still think that the question of Bosnia and Croatia must be solved first?

[Rugova] The new initiative is to start talks on Kosova. The international community is working intensively in this direction. I can say here that we are insisting that an overall solution for all the problems of the former Yugoslavia must be found, because, if we go on in this way with piecemeal solutions, problems will remain unresolved and this will have a detrimental effect throughout the Balkans. The international community is aiming to achieve peace in Bosnia and in Croatia, to prevent the spread of the conflict to other areas of the former Yugoslavia and Kosova, and to solve these problems through political means.

[Shala] The case of Bosnia has testified to disagreements among the Western states themselves over the schedule and way of solving the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. Do you think that these disagreements will also be evident when the problem of Kosova is posed?

[Rugova] We must look realistically at these stands over different crises and over the former Yugoslavia as a whole. The problem is to achieve a consensus and to harmonize the stands of many international participants.

The important thing is that there is very widespread understanding for Kosova.

[Shala] And everybody is persuaded that Kosova is a problem requiring a solution.

[Rugova] This is of great importance.

[Shala] When the crisis in the former Yugoslavia broke out, the West noted with some contempt the speculations rife in the Balkans about "spheres of interest," claiming that these were "historically obsolete." Nevertheless, events seem to have proved them wrong. For example, Russia is now known to have great influence in Belgrade; the United States has evident influence in Bosnia and Macedonia, and Germany in Croatia. Can such a rapport be expected in the case of Kosova?

[Rugova] The entire world was divided for 50 years. There were two blocs that counterbalanced each other. Processes of integration are now at work, such as that embodied in the EU. The OSBE is a powerful regional organization. "Spheres of interest" existed during the Cold War and at that time had a different shape. We must free ourselves from the negative sense of "spheres of interest."

Nevertheless, it is hard to expect that there well be "special spheres of interest," in the way that they used to exist, because we are witnesses to processes of integration that seem Utopian to us in the Balkans, who are in a state of semiwar.

We must cooperate with all countries, including the great powers and must pursue our interests. We must be courageous in this direction.

[Shala] As Faik Konica [writer, Albanian ambassador to Washington before World War II] was reinterred in Tirana, one might say that all Albanians rallied around Konica. There was a high level of national feeling on this occasion, and a renewed stress on the national pride that has been so eroded in recent years. Cannot such concord be achieved when it is a matter of solving the question of Kosova?

[Rugova] I do not agree with your opinion about the erosion of national pride.

Konica's reinterment or repatriation was a very important moment. Konica's instructions were famous: some

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have said that they were highly macabre instructions, the sort that only a great man like Konica can leave.

Because of circumstances we know, it was not possible to invite many personalities from Kosova to this important ceremony in Tirana. I can say that unfortunately Konica was absent from Albanian public life for 50 years. His repatriation was a moment of national pride. National pride today means self-respect and respect for our culture, institutions, etc.

The important and significant thing is that we were all together for Konica's repatriation. Konica said about Naim [Naim Frasheri, 19th century poet], when he was buried in Constantinople, that one day an entire people would welcome him home. Naim was welcomed home by half the people, while God granted us the opportunity for all of us together to welcome Konica home to Tirana.

I am no supporter of romantic pride, but of pride in achieving our goals, aspirations, and national ideals. We cannot go without national ideals.

[Shala] The peaceful option for solving the Kosova issue implies a long, hard, and strenuous process, a political marathon. What has been done to prepare the institutions in Kosova and to cultivate awareness for this political marathon?

[Rugova] Even when we began this more organized form of resistance against Serbian occupation in 1989, 1990, and 1991, we were conscious that this would be a long road and that we would only be able to hold out with the help of proper organization. We have supported and retained the existing institutions that have survived, and have also formed, and will continue to form, new institutions.

We sometimes forget that the political parties are also institutions. We must fill the institutions we have with young and able people, who know how to communicate with the world, and are highly pragmatic. The young generation, which I call "the generation of the republic" must be incorporated in the institutions, because they will revitalize them.

We are working even under such circumstances to create new institutions. I often say, but repeat once more here, that we must respect the institutions that we are creating under the difficult conditions of occupation.

[Shala] Statements by yourself and by other distinguished Albanian personalities lay stress on the importance of preserving Kosova's ethnic structure, which is entirely in the Albanians' favor. How real is the danger of a change to this structure, when we remember the departure of thousands of Albanians to the West and Serbia's plans to recolonize Kosova?

[Rugova] This is one of the most important issues for our political and state institution. The aim is to preserve Kosova's ethnic structure. We must view this in the context of all the developments in the former Yugoslavia, in which there have been major displacements of people. Since 1991, Albanian young people have been obliged to abandon Kosova because they have not wished to serve in the Serbian Armed Forces.

I can say that we have preserved Kosova's ethnic structure. We must be careful in this, because we do not want a Kosova without its people. We must maintain our spirit of great solidarity, which makes it possible for people to remain here, in order to prevent this. We must also cultivate more tolerance, understanding, and trust among people.

Let us not forget that the world values highly our institutions, our organization, and such things as our education system and internal solidarity.

[Shala] To end, a slightly unusual question. How do you envisage Kosova in the year 2000?

[Rugova] I do not go in much for predictions, but my vision of Kosova in the year 2000 is of an independent and neutral state, open toward Albania and Serbia. I foresee a strong political position, that is now already being created. I see Kosova as a state involved in processes of Albanian integration and processes of integration in the Balkans, Europe, and beyond.

Industrial Production Increases by 41 Percent

LD1705080995 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0027 GMT 17 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pristina, 17 May (TANJUG)—In the first four months of this year, industrial production in Kosovo-Metohija increased by 41 percent compared with the first four months of last year, the Institute for Statistics in Pristina has announced.

This is explained by increased production of electricity and coal, as well as by restarting the largest part of the Trepca combine. [passage omitted]

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